

Archbishop Sergius [Sargis] Hasan-Jalaliants

A HISTORY OF THE LAND OF ARTSAKH

[Karabagh and Ganje, 1722-1827]
(*Patmutiun Aghuanits Ashkharhi*)

English Translation by

Ka'ren V. Ketendjian

From Tübingen ms. No.87 and
the Erevan Matenadaran microfilm No. 567 copy of the same

Historical Introduction, Editing, Maps,
Charts and Annotations by

Robert H. Hewsen

Color Maps of Artsakh/Karabagh (18th-19th Centuries)
by Robert H. Hewsen are available at Internet Archive,
and also appear as attachments to the present document.

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Dedicated to
The People of Artsakh and Gandzak
Patriots, Princes, Prelates
and Warriors for the Independence of Armenia

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Foreword

The author of the present volume, Sargis Hasan-Jalaliants, was the last Catholicos (1810-1815) of the Holy See of Gandzasar in Karabagh (Artsakh). His *History of the Land of Aghuank* (Karabagh and Ganje) covers the years from 1722 to 1827 and completes the narrative begun by his grandfather's cousin, Catholicos Esayi Hasan-Jalaliants (1702-1728), entitled *A Brief History of the Aghuank Region*, which was the 15th volume published in the *Armenian Studies Series*.

The present annotated translation by Ka'ren Ketendjian is an important addition to our knowledge of the history of the Armenian meliks and their subjects who lived in the districts, which comprise the territory of present-day Nagorno-Karabakh. It serves as a primary source for the history of eastern Armenia and the rest of Transcaucasia, as well as the struggle of native Armenians against the Muslim khans and their reaction to the arrival of the Russians into the region.

Professor Hewsen, an expert on the history and genealogy of the meliks of Karabagh, has provided an important introduction and notes for this first English translation of this valuable source. As editor of the *Armenian Studies Series* at Mazda Publishers, I am happy to add this new volume to our other four volumes, translated from Persian, Russian and Armenian, on the history of Karabagh.

George A. Bournoutian
Iona College

Acknowledgments

In acknowledging our predecessors and those who have graciously aided us in our work, we would like to thank the Director of the University of Tübingen Library, for his kind permission to translate and publish the original text of the ms. copy of Archbishop Sergius Hasan-Jalaliants' work; Mr. Vrej Atabekian, for making available to us his modern Armenian translation of the text of Archbishop Sergius thus enabling Mr. Ketendjian and myself to collate it with the original text at our disposal; to Mr. Ara Ghazarians, Curator of the Armenian Cultural Foundation in Arlington, Mass., the English translator of Raffi's *Khamsayi Melikutiunnerè*; for allowing us to examine his translation prior to its publication; the man of letters Raffi (*Yakob Melik-Yakobian*), who, through his novel *Davit Bek* (1880-1882) and his historical study *Khamsayi melikutiunnerè* (1882) first brought the meliks of Karabagh to the attention of the Armenian world; and to Professor George Bournoutian of Iona College in New Rochelle, New York, who, in addition to graciously allowing us to utilize three of his maps for this volume and his willingness as General Editor of the Armenian Studies Series of Mazda Publishers, to include this volume in his series, has also, through his translations of other monuments related to this work, paved the way for the serious study of the eighteenth century in Armenia and for the restoration of the meliks to their rightful place in Armenian history as the inheritors of the courage, fortitude, and patriotism of their ancestors. Finally, of course, we must express our great gratitude to The Knights of Vartan, who, through the intermediary of Mr. Marc Mamigonian of the the National Association for Armenian Studies and Research (NAASR) provided us with a most generous grant for

the publication of this volume, and the Armenian Cultural Visionaries for a generous grant as well.

Karen V. Katendjian, Esq.

Robert H. Hewswn, Ph.D.

Illustrations and Maps

Illustrations

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Frontispiece: Page 1 of the manuscript of Sergius Hasan-Jalaliants (ca. 1826)

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Map 1. South Caucasia in the Eighteenth Century.
(Courtesy of George A. Bournoutian)

Map 2. Karabagh and Genje and the Neighboring khanates in the Eighteenth Century.
(Courtesy of George A. Bournoutian)

3. The Five Melikdoms of Karabagh in the Eighteenth Century.
(R.H. Hewsen, after B. Harutyunyan)

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ASL</i>	Above sea level
<i>Agath.</i>	<i>Agathangelos</i>
<i>ASX</i>	<i>Ashkharhatsouys [Geography]</i> , seventh century text probably by Anania Shirakatsi [Ananias of Shirak]
b.	born
<i>B</i>	<i>Bazmaveb</i> (Venice).
<i>BEH</i>	<i>Bamber Erevani Hamalsaran [Bulletin of Erevan University]</i>
<i>BM</i>	<i>Bamber Matenadarani</i> (Erevan)
<i>CHA</i>	<i>Collection des historiens arméniens</i> (Paris)
<i>CHIr</i>	<i>Cambridge History of Iran</i> (Cambridge, UK, New York)
<i>ClArm.</i>	Classical Armenian (Grabar)
d.	died
<i>DAA</i>	<i>Documenti di architettura armena</i> (Milan)
<i>EI</i> (sic)	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i>
<i>EI2</i>	<i>New Encyclopedia of Islam</i>
<i>ESBE</i>	<i>Entsiklopedicheskii slovar Brokgausa I Efrona</i>

[*Brockhaus and Efron Encyclopedic Dictionary*]

- HA* *Handes Amsorya* (Vienna)
- HHShTB* *Hayastani ev harakits shrjanneri teghannunneri Bararan [Toponymical Dictionary of Armenia and the Neighboring Regions]*. 4 vols. (Erevan, 1986-2001)
- HSH* *Haykakan sovetakan hanragitaran [Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia]* (Erevan, 1974-1987)
- HZhP* *Hay zhoghovrdi patmutyun [History of the Armenian People]* (Erevan)
- JA* *Journal Asiatique* (Paris)
- k. killed
- KHH* *Kristonya Hayastan hanragitaran [Armenia Christian Encyclopedia]*. (Erevan)
- KVK* Ka'ren V. Ketendjian, modern and Classical Armenian text translator
- LHG* *Lraper hasarakakan gitutiunneri [Messenger of Public Opinion]* (Erevan)
- MD/MK* Movses Daskhurantsi or Kaghankatuatsi, *Patmutiun Aghuanits* [History of Aghuank]
- MX* Moses of Khoren (Movses Khorenatsi)
- NK* *Narody Kavkaza* I (Moscow, 1960); II *idem.* 1962)
- ODB* *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*
- r. reigned
- REA* *Revue des études arméniennes* (Paris, 1964-)

RHH	Robert H. Hewsen, editor, annotator, maps, and charts
SO	Stephen Orbelian (Stepannos Orbelean)
VA	Vrej Atabekian, Classical Armenian translator
Vdpt.	Vardapet (doctor of theology)

Translator's Preface

Before I begin an introduction to this English translation of the *History of Aghuank* by Archbishop Sergius (Sargis) Hasan-Jalaliants, I would like to thank Professor Robert Hewsen for giving me the opportunity to participate in this project. I had known Dr. Hewsen's work before I met him in person. He is a walking encyclopedia of Armenian history and a master of Armenian historical maps. All along, his inspiration and professional advice have encouraged me to finish my translation of this most interesting but unjustly forgotten source for Armenian history.

My own life experience became richer after I was introduced to this task, and thanks to Dr. Hewsen's research skills and professional investigative effort we can now be finally exposed to this important historical document. It was Dr. Hewsen's inquisitive nature that led him to this historical source that had been hidden untouched for decades, if not for an entire century, in the Tübingen University Library in Germany. Its sister copy, made from the one in Tübingen, had much the same fate at the Matenadaran of Yerevan in Armenia. They have both patiently waited for a rebirth and introduction to the twenty-first century reading public.

There is one other person without whose help no translation of any sort would have materialized, my friend Vrej Atabekian. Vrej's ancestry is from Artsakh: he is an offspring of the most illustrious house of the Melik-Atabekians, meliks of Jraberd. This house, like many others described in Sargis Hasan-Jalaliants' work, traces its roots back to Prince Hasan-Jalal-Dola, the famous prince of Khachen in Artsakh of the thirteenth century, a contemporary of King Levon II and King Hethum of Cilician Armenia (1289-1301) and his consort, Queen Zabel. It is from this very root that our author Sargis Hasan-Jalaliants had his own origin. It is Vrej Atabekian's historical and familial insights into the Armenian text, his modern Armenian interpretations and his translations from old Armenian, that were indispensable for this book and which later lay the foundation for my

own English translation presented here. I thus consider Vrej as a co-translator both in the Armenian and English versions of this text. Professor Hewsen and I have encouraged Vrej to publish the modern Armenian version of the text for the vast Armenian reading public both in the motherland and the diaspora alike. Vrej's effort is a vivid example of the generational continuum that has always existed in Artsakh in the task of the preservation of our national heritage and history.

One person, whom I would like to thank also from the bottom of my heart, is the author himself, Archbishop Sargis Hasan-Jalaliants. Sometimes I try to imagine who he was. His inner world along with his perception of his contemporary reality had to wait for an entire century to be rediscovered. The author's language is archaic. It is mostly Grabar, the old classical literary version of Armenian, used by the Armenian Church until the present day and by secular authors, more or less accurately, until the Age of Enlightenment reached Armenia in the nineteenth century and Khachatur Abovian changed the language to what it is in the Armenian Republic today. The author's language also makes a patchy use of local idioms, dialectical words, Persian and Turkish terms, and the author's own phraseology, which is unique and sometimes difficult to decipher. I have tried to pass on to the reader, in English, this archaic potpourri. The reader shall be the judge of how successful I have been in this difficult task. I began my work with deciphering the hand-writing of Hasan-Jalaliants (or his scribe), for the manuscript was handwritten either by him or by a scribe and the letters were embellished with a certain calligraphy, which is unusual in modern times.

The next task was to understand the era and the historical context of Hasan-Jalaliants' work. He wrote of the events that chronologically unfolded during the time of Voltaire's and Rousseau's Enlightenment, the era of the American and French Revolutions, and finally the period of the Napoleonic wars. But indeed how different this author was from his European contemporaries in his worldview! Had the reader not known of the historical context in which the events unfolded, he or she might think that the author lived in the time of Prince Hasan-Jalal Dola himself, for the pathos of his writing is influenced by the poetry, inspiration, heroism and creed of those early medieval times.

From the very first page, where one can see Avan-yüzbashi's emotional address to his fellow compatriots on the need to fight the

enemy as gloriously as our ancestors rather than die in disgrace, to the very end, where the author describes the Russian campaigns, he remains faithful to the craft of a traditional historical chronicler of old. A modern historiographer's detailed approach is not important for our author. It is the impression and aura of the events that inspire him. He is a deeply religious man, who explains many events and how and why they unfold by the mercy, the will or the wrath of God. Our author is a patriot, deeply loyal to his country. His task is to give examples of heroism and glory among those meliks who are the righteous and heroic actors of his work. He is a good storyteller, and a dramatic one at that. And he, of course, is a loud vilifier of those meliks who were the collaborators and traitors of his time. No doubt, the author's task in such instances was to leave their names in the black lists of infamy and scorn. To prove this point he at times skillfully resorts to the historic letters of others, generously quoting from them. I can assure you that the story of the many unlawful wives of Melik Shahnazar, taken from the letter of Metropolitan Bagdasar, will not leave the reader bored or impartial. And it is exactly this effect that helps the author to reach his goal, *i.e.* to show his antagonist's folly and fall both from the moral and religious standpoints.

There were some passages where I was compelled to leave the original Armenian phraseology untouched, for the sake of its cultural flavor. For example, when two parole passwords for attacking one's enemy or abstaining from such an attack are "meket" or "dzeket," one cannot literally translate such terms into English without ruining the colorful essence of the entire affair. Sometimes the understanding of the text has been complicated by a lack of chronological perspective. The author runs forward and backward in his tale. It seems his task is to cover one story and finish it, then jump to the next. He is more concerned about the completeness of a current episode, rather than in the chronological order of his story. The task was also complicated by the fact that someone, either at Tübingen or before the time when the manuscript entered its collection, tried to put numbers on the pages of the manuscript and did a poor job of it. This led to the chapters abruptly ending in the middle and then continuing later on the wrong pages, which ultimately delayed the task of understanding the passages upon their first reading. Fortunately, the novelist Raffi had access to what appears to have been the original manuscript of our text and, although he did not see fit to publish it, he did include its entire table of contents in pp. 301-303 of his famed study

of the meliks and their wars, the *Khamsayi melikutiunner* [*The Five Melikdoms*] (Venice, 1886; repr. 1906). All of the passages confused in our manuscript have been rearranged in this translation based upon Raffi's table.

The author also has historical attachments, documents, letters, fragments of statements, sometimes put in the text out of place. However, I confess, I felt rather privileged when translating the Melik Alliance Charter (*Melikats Dashnagir*), since I became one of the few, along with Professor Hewsen and Vrej Atabekian, who saw the charter for the first time and have been the very first to give its English translation to the world. The translation of the geographic and proper names was a challenge as well, for the author at times did not care about keeping his spellings uniform. That is why Dr. Hewsen suggested translating them uniformly, in their modern accepted versions, for the sake of the English reader's comprehension of the text, albeit with footnotes where it was necessary to explain the cultural or historical perspective of certain name spellings and forms.

Overall, the author's language is not very refined if one is to treat his work as a piece of literature. However, it does have its own rhythm and pace. The author may seem to become repetitive in some parts, but it is this very method that makes his work solid and complete, both in its style and in its spirit. Occasionally, the author, in describing the past has for stylistic reasons reverted to the use of the present tense. In such cases, to avoid any awkwardness for the English-speaking reader, I have cast everything into the past tense. As far as the thorny problem of transliteration, myself and Dr. Hewsen have for, aesthetic reasons, avoided the use of diacritical marks both in the text of the translation and the notes. Two other points need to be made in regard to the translation: first, titles attached to personal names have been italicized (*i.e.* Javad-khan) lest they be taken for a part of the individual's name; and second the termination of Armenian surnames in -ean or -yan has been transliterated -ian as common in the Western world except in cases where the authors themselves use -yan when writing in the Latin script.

The author undoubtedly is the "last of the Mohicans" of his time. After him there would appear on the historical stage scholars like Ghevont Alishan or Leo, who would change our very perception of Armenian history, making it modern and scientifically comprehensive. Our author is not from this academic circle. And he surely does not pretend to be, which makes his work even more precious and

natural for those who love history for history's sake. You will see through Dr. Hewsen's efforts that in spite of the epic or poetic layers in the author's storytelling, most of the historical facts that the author presents are completely verifiable through reliable sources and leave the impression of an eyewitness account. Sargis Hasan-Jalaliants is the last Movses Khorenatsi of the Armenian historical tradition, and from this standpoint his work, though brief and simple, is timeless and priceless.

Ka'ren V. Ketendjian
Fresno, California.
January 16, 2013

Editor's Preface

In the spring of 1984, while serving as Visiting Research Professor at the University of Tübingen (then in the western part of the still divided Germany), I came across an Armenian manuscript in the University Library written by Archbishop Sergius (Arm. *Sargis*) Hasan-Jalaliants in the early nineteenth century. A preliminary examination of the text made it clear that it had never been published, that the original manuscript had disappeared, and that the only other extant copy was a photocopy of the one in Tübingen kept in the Mesrop Mashtots Manuscript Repository (Matenadaran) in Erevan, Armenia. Upon returning to the United States, I began the search for a scholar knowing how to read the Armenian handwriting in which the text had been composed. Curiously, neither of the Armenian translators known to me, not having studied in Armenian schools, were able to read Armenian handwriting and, owing to more pressing obligations on my part, the project of translation had to be set aside.

In 2008, however, I encountered two colleagues,¹ who were able to read the text and who, working together, were willing to prepare an English translation. Familiar as I was with the subject matter of the work and with the period with which it is concerned, I then proceeded to edit the translation, to compose a historical introduction, and to prepare the necessary historical, geographical, and bibliographical annotations.

The subject of the manuscript text is the history of Karabagh (Arm. *Artsakh*) and the neighboring khanate of Ganje (Arm. *Utik*) in the period of the Armeno-Persian and Russo-Persian wars (1722-1827), an area which the author of the work, much given to archaizing, refers to as the “land of Aghuank,” (*aghuanits erkir*) i.e. the [Classical] Albania of the Greeks and Romans, usually referred to in English as “Caucasian” or “Caspian” Albania to distinguish it from the Albania in the Balkan Peninsula, with which it has no connection save the fortuitous identity of their foreign names. To avoid confusion with modern Balkan Albania and with other recent books on

Karabagh, this translation uses the title *A History of the Land of Art-sakh.*

The Armenian novelist Raffi,² who had done considerable research on the subject matter of this text, had access to the original manuscript of this work in the form of a notebook of 124 pages given to him by the Russian Colonel Lazarov (*sic: *Lazarev*). He notes, accurately, that it consists of thirty-nine chapters dealing with the history of Eastern or Persian Armenia with eight additional chapters concerned with the various campaigns of Russian generals. The whereabouts of the original notebook seen by Raffi is not known. It is not in the Matenadaran, the Armenian national manuscript repository in Erevan. As noted above, all we have available to us is a somewhat defective copy of the original in the University of Tübingen library and its equally defective photocopy in the Matenadaran in Erevan.

Raffi, who thoughtfully lists the complete table of contents of the manuscript notebook at his disposal, was not impressed by the work of Archbishop Sergius describing it in the following terms:³

“...although he does not mention it, in the course of writing his history, he has benefited mainly from *Mirza Adigözel’s Persian Karabagh Book*,⁴ and collected the remaining parts [of his material] from [local] tradition. Events are not always set down in chronological order. Here and there one encounters genealogical errors: The son becomes the father of his father, and the brother becomes [an] uncle, etc. Chronological dates are almost non-existent. In those places where he has drawn on *Mirza Adigözel’s* history, he uses the dates of the *Hijra*, most of which do not correspond to the events [to which they have been assigned]. Just as he calls the history of the meliks of Karabagh *History of the Land of Aghuank*, so does he use various [other] toponyms in their ancient forms, most of which do not correspond to their present ones...I have had Archbishop Sergius’ booklet at my disposal (as a reference), but I have not followed it. I received the booklet from Colonel H. D. Lazarov.”⁵

The manuscript of the text by Sergius, now in the Tübingen University Library and somewhat damaged in its earlier pages, is not the one referred to by Raffi as its content differs somewhat from that in the notebook at Raffi’s disposal. The Matenadaran manuscript is of

no help in the restoration of the damaged portions of the Tübingen manuscript as it is, as stated above, a mere photocopy of the latter made while the Matenadaran was collecting photocopies of manuscripts in collections outside of Armenia that it did not possess.⁶

Author

The author of this work, Sergius (Arm. *Sargis*) Hasan-Jalaliants (1775-1828), was the last catholicos of the Armeno-Aghuan Church (1810-1815) although he is identified as such neither by himself nor by Raffi. Sergius was the younger brother of John X⁷ Hasan-Jalaliants, catholicos of Aghuank (1763-1786), who in 1781 entered into correspondence with Prince Gregory Potemkin and Archbishop Joseph Arghutian (Argutinsky-Dolgoruky), Armenian primate of Tiflis and close associate of leading figures at the Russian court. When in 1784, Ibrahim, khan of Karabagh, learned of this correspondence, the latter arrested Catholicos John, his brothers, Daniel and Sergius, the latter then but a deacon, and three of their brothers.⁸ Ibrahim then appointed a certain Israel⁹ as catholicos of Aghuank but most of the Armenians of Karabagh rejected him in favor of John.

After interrogating Catholicos John under torture, Ibrahim had the prelate poisoned and his brother Daniel thrown down a well and then had the latter's body hacked to pieces. After this, he cast Sergius and his brothers into prison in the fortress of Shushi, where they were held for over nine months. The catholicosal monastery of Gandzasar was looted,¹⁰ its wealth and its flocks were carried away, and the catholicosate of Aghuank was left vacant for eight years (1786-1794).

After the murder of John, Israel was once again appointed catholicos of Aghuank by Ibrahim, serving as anti-catholicos for seven years (1792-1799). Ultimately, Sergius and his surviving brothers were released through the intercession of Biki Agha, the wife of Ibrahim khan. The four then returned to Gandzasar but, in 1788, fearing for their lives, escaped with local meliks to the city of Gandzak seeking the protection of its ruler, Javad khan. There they remained for eight years until the arrival of General Zubov with a Russian army in 1796. Meanwhile, having assumed the title of catholicos in 1792, Sergius was forced to abandon it in 1794 under threats from Ibrahim khan, who then took the catholicosal throne

from the Hasan-Jalaliants family and gave it to a certain Simon V (1794-1810).¹¹

With the departure of Zubov for Georgia, in 1799, the Hasan-Jalaliants brothers left with him. Arriving in Tiflis, at the Georgian court, Sergius was made abbot of the Armenian monastery of Haghpat by King Heracles, whereupon the catholicos at Echmiatsin gave him the rank of bishop. Sergius thus became ecclesiastical head of the Armenian community in Georgia and, as requested, took an oath of allegiance to Russia.¹² During his thirteen-year tenure at Haghpat, Sergius had disputes of one kind or another with both the Armenian archbishop of Tiflis and the catholicos at Echmiatsin.¹³

Meanwhile, after the flight of Sergius, the Catholicos Israel asked that Bishop Simon be anointed catholicos of Gandzasar during the lifetime of Israel. This resulted in the catholicos of Echmiatsin asking Israel and Sergius both to come to Echmiatsin to settle the matter of succession. Simon then died and Sergius, without the permission and against the wishes of Tsar Alexander I (1801-1825) began using the red seal of the catholicos of Gandzasar, collecting church dues and distributing the Holy Muron with which bishops were consecrated as only a catholicos was permitted to do. When General Rtishchev came to Tiflis as commander of the Russian forces in South Caucasia in 1812, he forebade Sergius to use the catholicosal title and made him simply archbishop of Gandzasar. Prince Orbelianov then sent a letter to Sergius requiring that he sign a document to that effect. Stripped of all his titles, Sergius was placed under an anathema of the Church until he presented himself and sought forgiveness for his sins.¹⁴

Upon the death of Ibrahim khan at the hands of the Russians in 1806, Sergius planned his return to Gandzasar although circumstances made it impossible for him to ascend the throne until 1809. On the death of Simon in 1810, however, Sergius at last secured the catholicosate of Aghuank. On the insistence of the catholicos at Echmiatsin, however, the Russians suppressed the Aghuan catholicosate in 1815,¹⁵ a weighty decision in regard to an institution that was, at that time, 1,400 years old!

Thereafter, the Russians allowed Sergius to preside over the Armenian Church in Karabagh as metropolitan (archbishop) of Shushi. During the Second Russo-Persian War (1827-1828), he was accused of treason for having been in contact with the Persians. Required to stand trial in Tiflis,¹⁶ he was exonerated by his judge, Prince Joseph

Arghutian, and continued as metropolitan, holding that position until his death. Metropolitan Sergius died in 1828 and was succeeded by his brother Daniel's son, Balthasar.¹⁷

Title

The title of this work, as given at the head of the Tübingen manuscript, is *Patmutiun Aghuanits Erkir*, which is properly translated *History of the Land of [Caucasian] Albania*. This title is misleading, however, because, although *Aghuank-* is the usual designation for the lands east of Lake Sevan between the juncture of the Kur and Arax Rivers in the eighteenth century, it does not correspond to the realities of the time. Aghuank, properly called, lay north of the Kur River extending to the Caucasus Mountains and the Caspian Sea. Only in the late fourth-fifth centuries CE did Aghuank-Albania extend southwards to include the territory of Armenia between the Kur and the Arax—the Armenian principalities of Artsakh and Utik. In the Arab period, the lands north of the Kur ceased to be called Aghuank (Arab. *Aran*) and the Armenian term *Aghuank* come to refer solely to Artsakh and Utik. Thus, when our author speaks of the *Aghuanits erkir* he is referring not to Classical Albania lying north of the Kur but simply to Artsakh and Utik, i.e. Karabagh and the khanate of Ganje, the former being *grosso modo* the ancient name for Karabagh and the latter being *grosso modo* the ancient name for Ganje. For this reason, the translated title of the work of Sergius Hasan-Jalaliants is given here as *A History of Artsakh (Karabagh and Ganje)* with the dates 1722-1823 added lest the reader confuse this work with that of his antecedent Isaiah Hasan-Jalaliants, catholicos of Aghuank (1702-1728), the cousin of Sergius' grandfather, completed a century before.

Date

Since the narrative of Sergius' text continues through the war of 1827 and Archbishop Sergius died the following year, the date at which he wrote appears narrowly determined. On the other hand, it is likely that the text was actually written over a long period of time and that it only ends *ca.* 1827.

The ms. copy in the University of Tübingen library may be dated more securely by a reference in the text to "the month of Zantahar." The name of this month, as I correctly guessed, is a misreading by the copyist for *Zartayin*, "awakening," which is the Armenian name

for the month of March according to the completely artificial attempt by the Armenian intellectual Nahapet Russianian (1819-1876) to create Armenian names for the months of the Roman calendar. These names were only in use for a brief time and then abandoned. Russianian's date of death thus gives us some idea when the Tübingen copy of Sergius' text was made: Having invented his months in the 1870s, the Tübingen copy, written on a white, lined note pad, would have been made only a little after *ca.* 1875.

Narrative

The author is concerned with the wars between the Armenians of Karabagh and the Muslims—*i.e.* the Persians, themselves, or the local Muslim population (the latter called “Turks” by the Armenians and “Tatars” by the Russians). In many cases, the khans or hereditary Muslim rulers, were of Turkic origin, though in some cases (*e.g.* the khans of Shirvan) they were descended from local Armenian nobility that had converted to Islam and then intermarried with Muslims.

The author begins his narrative with an account of the deeds of Avan *yüzbaşı* (*i.e. centurion*), the leader of the Armenian rebellion against Muslim rule at the time of Peter the Great’s invasion of the Persian Empire in 1722, an invasion that took place after the Afghan overwhelming of Persia and the fall of the Safavid dynasty. His narrative continues until the Russian occupation in 1827 and, indeed, the last chapters deal almost exclusively with the activities of various Russian generals in South Caucasia in the early nineteenth century, some of whom Archbishop Sergius probably knew personally.

Purpose

Given the Armenian penchant for the writing of historical literature, there is hardly a need to ask why an Armenian cleric would undertake the production of yet another historical narrative but in this case there may have been a definite motive for the effort of Archbishop Sergius Hasan-Jalaliants. A century before he wrote, as we have seen, his grandfather's cousin, the catholicos of Aghuank Isaiah [*Esai*] Hasan-Jalaliants (r. 1702-1728), composed an earlier *History of Aghuank* dealing with the late seventeenth century and coming down to just about 1722.¹⁸ Archbishop Sergius, we know, was of the same family as Catholicos Isaiah and it is quite possible—and even probable—that he was consciously attempting to continue Catholic Isaiah’s work bringing it up to his own time. Unfortunately,

Archbishop Sergius, himself, says nothing about his motivation for writing this work but this explanation seems a logical one—the updating of the earlier work, of course, and the desire to record what had occurred in his “Aghuan” homeland in the century that had just passed.

Audience

The author addresses his work to no one in particular and we have no idea as to whom he was trying to reach. Probably, his little book was written with a general sense of responsibility to record the events of his own time in order to supplement the existing histories of Armenia that had been circulating in Armenia for centuries, a desire quite usual among Armenian clerics from the invention of the Armenian alphabet in the fifth century CE onward. Since we know, however, that the overwhelming bulk of the Armenian population was illiterate until the mid-nineteenth century, this work would have been intended, of course, more for the ecclesiastical elite rather than for the general reader. Its value as an informational text for the eyes of the Russian authorities would have been another reason for the composition of the work. An attempt to exonerate himself from his somewhat controversial activities would be yet another.

Significance

Although much of the content of the *Patmutiun Aghuanits erkir* is found in other accounts of events in eighteenth century Armenia, it is useful as more than a mere corroboration of what such other works contain. Besides drawing upon local tradition and recording much oral history not found elsewhere, Archbishop Sergius conveys many geographical indications as well as vivid descriptions of fortresses and melikal residences. His accounts of the response of Baghir Melik to the Turkish General Suleiman, and his refusal to execute the latter when he had him in his power,¹⁹ are valuable insights into the ethos of the melik class. Valuable, too, is Archbishop Sergius’ descriptions of the deeds of the celebrated Avan *yüzbaşı*²⁰ and of Melik Egan of Dizak.²¹ Most important of all his historical data, however, is his preservation of the *Dashnagir* or “Alliance Charter” in which the meliks present the terms under which they hoped to live under Russian suzerainty²² and which form almost a constitution for the famed *Khamsa Melikutiunerè* or federation of the five principle melik

houses of Karabagh.

An Assessment

Far from being one of the great Armenian histories having a grand conception and covering a lengthy period of time, *The History of Aghuank* by Archbishop Sergius belongs rather to the category of minor chronicle (*manr zhamanakagrutium*) so widely produced in Armenia from the fourteenth through the eighteenth centuries.²³ Drawing on few, if any, written sources, and relying almost exclusively on what the authors drew from their own knowledge, the value of such texts lies in their very weakness: although based on little knowledge of the remote past, they are usually contemporaneous with the lifetime of the author and, being based almost entirely on eye-witness material or accounts provided him by eye-witnesses of the events they describe, they bring an immediacy to their descriptions that in many ways presents fewer problems than do the great histories of Armenia, that have passed through the hands of countless scribes who, when copying them, did not hesitate to edit them as they saw fit. In regard to the wars of the meliks and their struggles with the Turks, Persians, and local Muslim powers, thanks to Archbishop Sergius and authors like him we are better informed than we are of the conversion of Armenia to Christianity in the fourth century or of any of the great events of Armenian history prior to modern times.

Conclusion

Certain conventions have been used in the preparation of this work: The transliteration of Armenian personal and toponymic names—always a most vexing problem—has been made as simple as practical by using a system without diacritical marks.

Everywhere, the transliteration of Armenian words follows the Eastern Armenian orthography even for common names such as *Echmiatsin* (rather than the conventional *Etchmiadzin*), and *Erevan* (rather than *Yerevan*). Foreign titles and honorific terms (*beg*, *bey*, *bek*, *khan*, etc.), when attached to a personal name, are placed in italics the first time that they are used to make it clear that they are not part of the name in question, e.g. Genghis *khan*, *Sheikh* Ali. The words *emperor*, *shah*, *melik*, etc. are capitalized only when they are used as a title preceding or following a personal name (e.g. *Emperor Paul*, *Jahan Shah*, *Melik Avan*,) but otherwise are left in lower case

(e.g. the emperor of Russia, the shah of Persia, the melik of Dizak). The terms "Persia" and "Iran" are used interchangeably to avoid excessive repetition of either. Finally, in this book the ambivalent and inaccurate term "Albania" is everywhere eschewed, the noun "Aghuank" being used for the country, "Aghuans" for the people and "Aghuan" for the adjective.

Robert H. Hewsen
Fresno, California
May 20, 2013

NOTES

1. Mr. Vrej Atabekian of Erevan, Armenia, and Mr. Ka'ren V. Ketendjian, Esq. of Fresno, Calif.
2. Raffi [Yagop Melik-Yakobian], *Khamsayi*, ed. 1906, p. 301-304.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 303.
4. Mirza Adigözal Beg. *Karabagh-name* [*Karabagh Book*]. (Baku, 1950); Eng, trans. G. Bournoutian, in *Two Chronicles on the History of Karabagh*. Costa Mesa., Calif., 2004.
5. Raffi, *Khamsayi*, *ibid.*, p. 303. Actually, Raffi has been careless in his reading of this text for its content actually has little in common with that of *Mirza Adigözal*.
6. On 22 June, 2010, I received the following communication from Mr. Ara Ghazarians Director of the Armenian Cultural Foundation in Arlington, Massachusetts, relating to yet another ms. similar to that composed by Archbishop Sergius:

"The following are two paragraphs from the epilogue of the *Khamsa Melik-domi* by Raffi. It is evident from Esayi's work that it is an unfinished document. The word "hamarot" in the title alludes to the fact that the publisher(s) knew it was part of a more extensive document. As to what may have happened to it or who may have mutilated the piece, perhaps this will remain a mystery. Also of interest would be another missing document by Metropolitan Baghdasar. Who knows? It may be still hidden away somewhere in a library or a storage house like Sergius Hasan-Jalaiants's work!"

[Paragraph one] 'In the village of the monastery of Gandzasar [*i.e.* in the village of Vank—RHH], in the house of Vakhtang Bek Hasan-Jalalian, I [Raffi] found an old-worn notebook (with the first pages missing). It was the draft of an unfinished history handwritten by Metropolitan Baghdasar, mainly about the house of the Hasan-Jalaiants. The first part was not very interesting because it had been gleaned from sources familiar to us, that is the works of [Moses] of Kaghankatuk and Cyriacus (Arm. *Kirakos*) of Gandzak. But the last part included interesting information about the me-

liks of Karabagh and their relationship with Peter the Great and the Georgian Prince Vakhtang; their relations with Panah khan and Ibrahim khan; and the barbarities committed by the latter toward Catholicos Hovhannes Hasan-Jalalian and the Karabagh meliks. It briefly described the emigration of the Karabagh meliks with their subjects to Georgia and their return, and other events. It covered the history up to 1808, that is, until the period when Metropolitan Baghdasar himself returned with the Armenian refugees from Georgia. In the notebook, here and there, are erasures and corrections made by the same pen. There are additions made on the margins from time to time. The pen is the same, but the color of the ink varies. As I recall, that notebook is a draft only. It would be desirable that its complete and corrected version might be found. The author, being a contemporary of the events, his work should be considered seriously."

[Paragraph two]: "Catholicos Esayi Hasan-Jalaliants of Albania. *Patmut'iwn kam hishatak inch inch antsits dipelots hashkharhin Aghuanits i tuakanin hayots 1160, isk i tuakanin Tearn meroy Prkchin Hisus: 1711* [History or Memoir of the Events in the Land of [Caucasian] Albania in the Armenian year 1160, and the year of Our Savior Lord Jesus 1711] (Shushi, 1838). This small booklet, as it seems, is abridged, extracted from an extensive history, the original of which if found, could be considered a great treasure for contemporary [Armenian] history. The author, Catholicos Esayi of [Caucasian] Albania, himself one of the major leaders of the meliks' revolt in Karabagh (1700-1728), has written a detailed history of the events of his time."

Paragraph one refers to a ms. that has not come down to us. Paragraph two refers to the well-known work of Catholicos Isaiah Hasan-Jalaliants published at Shushi in 1839 and again at Jerusalem in 1868, for which see *infra* n. 18 and our *Bibliography*.

7. The exact numeration of the catholicoi of Aghuank is not clear. Some sources followed here (*e.g.* Toumanoff, 1976; Bournoutian, 2001) call this last one John XII. Less likely he may have been John X).

8. There were eight Hasan-Jalaliants brothers, sons of Melikbek and grandsons of Melik Allaverdi I, who, with his wife, had been executed by Panah khan in 1755. These were: John, Daniel, Sergius, Gabriel, Misael, Israel, Jalal, and Allahverdi, as well as at least two sisters, Maria and Ghamar-khatun. The impression one has is that two of the eight brothers were deceased before the arrest of John, Daniel, Sergius (these three probably being the eldest) and the three others left unnamed. Six of the brothers had issue and the clan had grown to include a very large number of males by 1850. The last melik of the house was Allaverdi II (1775-1813), great-grandson of Allaverdi I, nephew of our author and brother of Balthasar Metropolitan-Archbishop of Artsakh.

9. The surname of this Israel is not given and he may have been the Israel who was the younger brother of Archbishop Sergius, whose kinship he does

not wish to recall.

10. Bournoutian (1998), Doc. 52, letter from Archbishop Sergius to General Knorring, dated 29 May 1801.
11. We do not know the origin of this Catholicos Simon but Archbishop Sergius refers to him as “one of our subordinates...” Bournoutian, *ibid.*
12. *Ibid.* Doc 110, letter from Sergius to General Tsitsianov dated January 1805.
13. *Ibid.* Doc. 255, Letter from Sergius to General Ermolov dated 8 May 1823.
14. *Ibid.* Doc. 223, letter from Ephraim, Catholicos at Echmiatsin, to the Armenian clergy of Karabagh dated 18 December 1815.
15. Bournoutian, 2001, p. 401, n. 12.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 537-538.
17. *Kristonya*, pp. 568-569.
18. Esai Katoghikos Hasan-Jalaliants. *Patmutiun hamarod Aghuanits erkri* [Short History of the Land of Aghuank]. (Shushi, 1838; Jerusalem, 1868; Eng. trans. G. Bournoutian, *A Brief History of the Aghuank' Region* (Costa Mesa, Calif., 2009)).
19. *Infra, Transl.*, 2.
20. *Ibid.*, 1, 3-4.
21. *Ibid.*, 5-7.
22. *Ibid.*, 28.
23. Hakobyan, V. A. *Manr zhamanakagrutiunnerè* [Minor Chronicles]. Vol. I, Erevan, 1951; vol. II (Erevan, 1956).

Gymnophytes



First page of the Tübingen University Library manuscript of the
text (ca. 1826)

Historical Introduction

Robert H. Hewsen

The easternmost sector of Armenia consists of the slopes of the Armenian Plateau lying east of Lake Sevan and descending to the Kur-Arax lowlands. While the Artsakh or Karabagh Mountains curving northwest to southwest around Lake Sevan tend to obscure the plateau beneath them, the small rivers that cut these mountains into a series of valleys running from northwest to southeast (Aghstev, Ta-vush, Dzegam, Shamkhor, Inja, Koshkar, Gandzak, Kirak, Sevjur, Inja, Terter (Trtu), Khachen, Gargar) make it clear that one is descending from a plateau lying at a considerably higher elevation than the eastern lowlands toward which the rivers flow. In the early modern period of Armenian history, it was in this eastern region of Armenia that the most significant events took place.

The term “early modern Armenia” refers to the period between the beginning of the Age of Exploration in the fifteenth century and the emergence of the Armenian Question as a diplomatic issue of international import late in the nineteenth. For good or for ill, this period was characterized by the emergence, expansion, and triumph of Western Civilization and of the Western World that had created it. Until the eleventh century, Western Civilization, emerging from the ruins of the fall of the Roman Empire in Western Europe, was a developing one, far behind that of Byzantium or the Caliphate or, for that matter, of India and China, its literature often being less impressive than that of contemporary Armenia. Between the eleventh and the sixteenth centuries, however, the West caught up with its neighbors in the Mediterranean world, a process that greatly accelerated after 1200, when their achievements came to be recognized by Westerners themselves as a new departure in human history, later to be styled “the Renaissance.” By 1500, moreover, the West had begun to surpass the other surviving civilizations, an advance already obvious in science and technology but more openly displayed in a bold and aggressive commercial and colonial expansionism reaching beyond Western Europe eventually to penetrate the entire globe.¹

The earliest civilizations encountered in Western expansion, those of the Aztecs and the Incas, were conquered, decapitated, and brought to an end. India was annexed piecemeal by the British; the Chinese and the Japanese, sensing the danger, closed their doors for as long as they could do so. Russia, the first non-Western nation to grasp what was happening, embarked on a modernization program under Peter the Great that was westernization by definition. Less advanced or less sophisticated societies—those of the rest of North and South America, and of Africa and Asia—were overrun. Africa was divided by the British, French, Germans, Belgians, Spanish, and Portuguese. India was almost totally under British control, Southeast Asia under the French; Indonesia was in the hands of the Dutch; China and Japan had been forcibly opened to Western commercial expansion, the former almost completely overrun. The Turks, too, and the Persians eventually saw the need to address the challenge of the West, but in both cases they did so too late to salvage their empires. Turkey became beholden to Britain, France, and Russia and then, with dire results, to Germany; Iran was partitioned into British and Russian “spheres of influence.” Under the Monroe Doctrine, Latin America became virtually an American protectorate; Hawaii was annexed by the United States and the Philippines were held by them for fifty years. By 1914, the world was, for all intent and purposes, in the hands of the great powers of the West. Even after the great overseas empires had crumbled away, as they had by the 1970s, the West still dominated the rest of the world, technologically, economically, culturally, and in almost every other way. The Soviet system, after the First World War the only serious competitor to the Western model, collapsed in 1991. A radical experiment, it had lasted a little over seventy years and, with its fall went the Russian empire and over three hundred years of territorial accumulation.

During this time, the Armenians were not in ignorance of what was going on in the outside world. Already at the end of the fifteenth century, scarcely a generation after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks, an Armenian monk, noting the emergence of Christian Russia from Mongol domination, wrote of having beheld “the great white queen of the North.” In 1493, an Armenian traveler, visiting Spain, spoke of the return of Columbus from his first voyage and himself boarded a ship for a brief excursion that took him into the Atlantic beyond sight of land. About the same time, Constantine II, king of Georgia (1478–1490 / 1491), until his reign the still-united kingdom

of Sakartvelo (*i.e.* all Georgia), appealed to Spain and England for aid against the Muslims. Later, the Armenian Catholicos Stephen V (1544–1546) journeyed to Venice, Rome, Vienna, Poland, and thence to Moscow, reaching out to Christian powers for support against the Muslims. A secret meeting was convoked by the same catholicos at Echmiatsin in 1547, another by Catholicos Michael I in 1562, and yet a third by Catholicos James IV at Echmiatsin in 1679, all with the intention of seeking aid from the Christian West.²

For a long time, it seemed as if Muslim rule, whether Ottoman Turkish or Safavid Persian, Sunni or Shiite, was unshakable, the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century, being as formidable a power in Eastern Europe as Spain was at the western end of the continent.³ Persia, too, under the Safavid dynasty, was a power still to be reckoned with.⁴ But the fear of Ottoman aggression and the hostility between Turkey and Iran served to draw the attention of the West to the Middle East, where it was hoped that something might be managed in Iran—and in Turcoman dominated Armenia—that would draw Turkey's attention away from its assault on Europe and reverse its aggression more toward the East. This maneuver had already begun in the late fifteenth century, when Venice had sent ambassadors to the Turcoman chieftain, Uzun Hasan,⁵ hoping to engage him as an ally against the Ottomans after their capture of Constantinople. These overtures were resumed in the seventeenth century, when Safavid power seemed at its height, These account for the journeys of more than one diplomatic mission to Persia in the seventeenth century, whereas these missions tended to taper off dramatically in the following century in the face of Ottoman decline and the waning of the Ottoman threat to Christian Europe.⁶

Thus, the period of four centuries from 1500 to 1900 reveals the Armenians becoming increasingly drawn to the Western world, either directly or through its Russian interpretation, first in the hope of military aid, then later for technological and medical advances, cultural and intellectual stimuli, political and social theories, modern educational methods, and more subtle yet pervasive Western notions concerning the rights of man, the status of women, and the rearing of children, ideas that would cause them, as sooner or later it has caused every other people of the non-Western world, to call into question every aspect of their own cultures and many of their most cherished ideals.

The Ottoman Empire

The first major Turkish state in Anatolia, the Seljuk sultanate of Rum,⁷ was established in the eleventh century after the defeat of the Byzantines at the battle of Manzikert (Arm. *Manazkert*) in Armenia in 1071. This polity had been destroyed by the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century, its place being taken by a number of Turkish statelets under the domination of the Mongols. One of the last of the Seljuk sultans had given to Ertoghrul (d. 1288), a Turkish tribal chief, a small fiefdom in the northwest of Anatolia in the region of ancient Bithynia, becoming one of nine such “emirates” that emerged in Anatolia as a result of the destruction of Rum. In 1288, Ertoghrul’s son, Osman or Othman, (from whose name comes the Turkish adjective “Osmanli” and its European form *Ottoman*), began to expand his lands at the expense of what was left of the Byzantine Empire.

Becoming independent *ca.* 1300, the ruler of these Ottoman Turks,⁸ as they came to be known, took the title “emir” from the Arabic word for “governor” (but here to be understood as “prince”). The Ottomans, having converted to Islam, then established themselves as *ghazi*-s or frontier fighters for the faith, who, apart from conventional motives of plunder, took it as a religious calling to wage war upon the infidel. In 1326, they took the city of Prousa from the Byzantine Empire, and, under the name *Bursa*, it became their first capital. *Emir* Orhan (1326–1359) married a Byzantine princess, after which, expanding into Europe, the Ottomans conquered much of the Balkan Peninsula, overwhelming Serbia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and the other states of the region. Sultan Murad (1359–1386) took Adrianople (Tk. *Edirne*) in 1359 and moved the capital there, thus establishing his state as a European power. Turning his attention to the East, Murad subjected all of the other Turkish emirates in Anatolia save Karaman, which held out until 1487.

Under Bayazit I (1389–1402), the Ottomans once again turned their attention to Anatolia. Briefly checked by the Mongol Timur (*Tamerlane*), who defeated and captured Bayazit at the battle of Ankara (*Ankara*) in 1402, the Ottomans soon recovered, and under Mehmet II (1451–1480), captured Constantinople, itself (1453), putting an end to the millennium-old Byzantine Empire and making its capital their own. Under Selim I (1512–1520), the Ottomans resumed their expansion. Syria, Palestine, and Egypt were conquered, and even some distant Arabian rulers made their submission. Under

Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–1566), Armenia was divided between the Turks and the Persians and the Ottoman Empire became the greatest state in Eastern Europe and the Middle East, to a certain extent a reconstitution in Islamic dress of the Byzantine Empire as it had been in the age of Justinian. Not until the late seventeenth century did the internal decline of the Ottoman Empire begin to make itself felt on the international stage.

The Safavid Persian Empire

The origin of the Safavid dynasty may be traced to the rise of the *Safaviyya*, a widespread Sufi order founded by *Sheikh Safi* ca. 1300 and centered at Ardabil in Iranian Azerbaijan.⁹ The Sufi orders were associations of Islamic “monks” determined to seek a closer union with God through the practice of various religious disciplines. Sufi orders grew rapidly in this period, and the *Safaviyya* was one of the most important. Ismail Safi (1501–1524), founder of the Safavid dynasty, was a sheikh of the *Safaviyya* order, and, afterwards, the Safavid shahs continued to hold this position, thereby creating a religious foundation for their rule.

The Safavids, as natives and rulers of Persia, were naturally obliged to support the civilization of Iranianism, and this created many difficulties in maintaining peace between the Turcoman chieftains, who formed the dynasty’s chief support, and the Persian masses over whom it ruled and to whose culture it was committed. Although *Sheikh Safi* was a Sunni (orthodox) Muslim of Turcoman origin, he was supported by the heterodox Shiites of Persia and the even more heterodox Qizilbash order. It was Ismail who confirmed the Shiite sect of Islam as the official religion of Persia to this day.

The term *Qizilbashi-s* or “redheads,” so-called from the color of their distinctive headdress, has meant various things at different times, in different places, and under varying circumstances. For the Safavids, however, the *Qizilbash* were essentially a mixed assortment of ethnic elements, predominantly Turkic in origin, who formed a military force devoted to the *Safaviyya* order. If the sheikh of the *Safaviyya* was indeed the voice of religious authority, then the *Qizilbash* troops became his military defenders against the outside world. Thus, the *Qizilbash* may be considered to be something of a military-religious association something on the order of the Western European Templars or the Teutonic Knights of the Crusader era.

Ottoman Expansion into Armenia

The destruction of the Ak Koyunlu “White Sheep” Turcomans at the hands of Ismail Safi (1499–1524) was a turning point in the history of the Middle East. No longer were the Ottomans faced with a kindred albeit inimical Turkic power in Iran, sharing a common language, faith, and culture, but rather with a hostile, Persian-speaking dynasty inspired by a fanatical devotion to the Shiite sect of Islam. The situation faced by Ottoman Turkey was therefore not unlike that which dismayed the Romans in the third century, when the relatively easygoing dynasty of the Parthian Arsacids were replaced in Iran by that of the fanatically Zoroastrian Persian Sasanids.

Beginning as the master of a small enclave in the Caspian Sea province of Gilan, Ismail and his Qizilbash warriors defeated the shah of Shirvan in 1499 / 1500, annexing his territory in southeast Caucasia together with the important towns of Shamakhi and Baku. In 1501 / 1502, Ismail crushed the last of the Ak Koyunlu at the battle of Shurur, after which he was crowned shah of Iran at Tabriz. The conquest of Mesopotamia (Iraq) and all of Persia followed, and only Ismail’s need to deal with the Ottoman threat on his western flank enabled Central Asia to escape his grasp.

Receiving the throne from his father, Mehmet the Conqueror, shortly thereafter, Selim became sultan of Turkey in 1512, and Ismail attacked him almost at once. This opened the first Ottoman-Safavid war (1512-1514), which was quickly ended when Selim defeated Ismail at the decisive battle of Chaldiran (23 August 1514) near Khoy on the Armenian border with northwestern Iran. The significance of the battle of Chaldiran lay not so much in the amount of territory acquired by Selim as in the fact that it marked the first and permanent expansion of the Ottoman Turks onto the Armenian Plateau. More important at the time, however, was the spread of Turkish influence toward the Georgian kingdoms and principalities and the extension of Turkish domination over the Kurdish emirates of Western Armenia, whose Sunni rulers had seethed beneath the rule of the hated Shia Safavids.

Five more Ottoman-Safavid wars followed the peace defined at Chaldiran with the boundary between Ottoman and Persian territory alternating back and fourth between the two empires. Throughout the century between the death of the White Sheep Turcoman warrior, Uzun Hasan in 1478 and the conclusion of the fifth Ottoman-Safavid war in 1590, we hear almost nothing about the activities of the Ar-

menians from themselves (though this may be largely due to the fact that the colophons from the period have yet to be published). The continued existence of the autonomous meliks of Karabagh is known to us almost solely through their tombstones and other inscriptions. The “dark ages” in the history of Greater Armenia, which had begun with the fall of Ani in 1064, take hold more or less completely during the sixteenth century, though in the periods between the various wars some of the monasteries appear to have been culturally active and manuscripts were still being copied.

Muscovite Expansion into Armenia

Coincidental with the triumph of the Ottomans over what was left of the Byzantine Empire and that of the Safavids over the chaos in Iran, was the emergence of the Muscovite state to the north.¹⁰ Originally a collection of Russian principalities under the domination of the Mongol khanate of the “Golden Horde,” the fifteenth century saw the growing weakness of the Mongols leading to the “gathering of the Russian lands” into an increasingly unified and powerful state of the Muscovite dynasty under Ivan III the Great (1462-1505) and his grandson Ivan IV the Terrible (1533-1574). Descended as they were from the Rurikid dynasty that had founded the Muscovite state, and seeing themselves religiously and culturally the successors of the Byzantine Empire in however a debased and backward form, the Muscovite Grand Princes now took the title *tsar* “caesar” and, conquering the successor states of the Golden Horde, which had collapsed *ca.* 1506, came to see themselves as the successors of yet a third inheritance, that of the Mongol empire founded by Genghis khan (d. 1227).

Thus, from the reign of Ivan III onward, Muscovy grew steadily until it became the major power in the steppes of Eurasia and a serious threat both to Persia and the Ottoman Empire. Being Christians, it is not surprising that the Georgians and the Armenians began to look toward the Christian Russian Empire as a potential ally in their attempts to free themselves from Muslim domination. Gradually a tripartite international power structure was emerging in the East with the Caucasian peoples, Armenians, Georgians and the mountain tribes surrounded by the Ottoman, Safavid, and Muscovite Empires.

Caucasia between Turkey, Persia, and Russia

As the Mongol khanate of the Golden Horde came to its end, its place in North Caucasia was taken by one of its offshoots, the khanate of Astrakhan, centered at the city of that name near the mouth of the Volga. When Astrakhan fell to the armies of Ivan the Terrible in 1554, the North Caucasian peoples became independent under only a vague suzerainty of the great Muslim powers to the south: Ottoman Turkey in the case of the Circassians of the northwest (Russ. *Kabarda*); Safavid Iran in the case of the tribes of the northeast (Tk. *Daghestan*, “mountain land”). Meanwhile, the strength of Muscovy continued to grow from this time onward. Thus, the stage was set for the great power struggles of the sixteenth through the early twentieth centuries between the forces of three empires: Russia, Turkey, and Iran. Caught between these powers and increasingly drawn into their conflicts were the peoples of Caucasia both north and south of the range.

The Situation in Georgia

One of the more unfortunate developments in the late fifteenth century was the disintegration *ca.1478* of the united kingdom of Georgia (Geo. *Sakartvelo*; Russ. *Gruziia*) into three separate kingdoms: Kartli (Central Georgia, Russ. *Kartaliniia*), Kakheti (East Georgia, Russ. *Kakhetiia*), and Imereti (West Georgia; Russ. *Imeretiiia*), each under a branch of the Bagrationi or Bagratid dynasty, the senior line of which held Kakheti. To complicate matters, moreover, Imereti, was suzerain over four semi-autonomous principalities: Guria (Russ. *Guriia*), Svaneti (Russ. *Svanetiia*), Samegrelo (Russ. *Mingreliia*), and Abkhazeti (Russ. *Abkhaziia*). the last of which was not a Georgian but rather a Circassian state.¹¹ Over the following centuries, Kartli and Kakheti were vassals of the Persian Empire, while Imereti and its principalities were under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Turks. Conflict characterized the relations between the Georgian kingdoms and all of them suffered in the frequent Ottoman-Safavid wars.

The Situation in Armenia

Armenian merchants trafficked in Russia as early as the eleventh century and attended the first fair at Nizhny Novgorod in 1366. They were settled in Moscow as early as 1380 and have lived there permanently ever since. The first official Armenian ecclesiastical contact with the Russian government was the sending of an envoy to Mos-

cow in 1539 by the catholicos of the Armenian Church seeking permission to open a house of worship in Astrakhan; the first official commercial contact was a treaty signed in 1667 between Tsar Michael and an Armenian company of New Julfa; the first diplomatic contact was Israel *Ori*'s mission to Peter the Great (1682-1725) seeking aid against the Persians in 1703. Armenians fought in the Russian army as early as 1380 and served in the diplomatic corps from 1632. Peter the Great, as we shall see, had an *Armianski Eskadron* in his army when he invaded Persia in 1722. Astrakhan was the earliest center of the Armenian community in Russia, an episcopal see being established there in 1716, under the jurisdiction of the Armenian catholicos of Aghuank, which for decades held ecclesiastical authority over all Armenians in the Russian empire.

Armenians introduced both sericulture and viticulture into southern Russia in the early eighteenth century and, as the century progressed, became a small but permanent and valuable element in the lands of the tsar. Catherine the Great (1762-1796) further encouraged the immigration of Armenians, building a church for them in St. Petersburg and founding settlements for them in Russia (*e.g.* New Nakhichevan by Rostov-on-the-Don and the colony of Grigiopol on the Dniester River in what is now Moldova). For most of the same century, a struggle existed between the interests of the catholicosate of Echmiatsin and that of Aghuank each of which claimed jurisdiction over the increasingly large and wealthy diocese comprised by the Russian Empire.

Unlike the Georgians of Kartli, Kakheti, and Imereti, who maintained a semblance of independence under their respective kings, Armenia had been almost completely overrun by the Muslims after 1064 and not until the mid-fifteenth century did a tiny portion of its population enjoy even a shadowy autonomy under Muslim rule. The rulers of these sparks of self-government, however, were recognized by the Black Sheep Turcoman ruler Jahan Shah *ca.* 1467, as *melik-s* ("princes" or dynasts) and confirmed as such by Shah Abbas the Great (1587-1629) in 1604. Confined solely to the easternmost slopes of the Armenian Plateau described above, the land of Artsakh, known as *Karabagh* to the Muslims, they occupied a fragment of what had once been the ancient kingdom of Armenia and, from the late fourth century, a part of the medieval Christian kingdom of Aghuank.

Armenia in the Eighteenth Century

The eighteenth century has been until recently one of the more neglected eras in Armenian historiography, at least in Western scholarship; indeed, it has been, to a very great extent, the last “dark age” in the history of the country, that is, the most recent era about which, until recently, so little research has been done. While the period following the Persian campaign of Peter the Great has not been totally neglected by historians in Soviet Armenia, the tendentious approach dictated by the circumstances of the time renders almost all of their work subject to revision, while in the West, only Bournoutian has seriously addressed developments in Armenia in this period, and then only for the eastern part of the country, which, of course, is the region that interests us here.¹²

Before any progress can be made in the study of Armenia in the eighteenth century, however, it is necessary to define the parameters of the subject, that is, the framework of the period, the major events that occurred in it, and, more importantly, the main lines of development in Armenia during this time. In an era when the long series of incessant and destructive Turco-Persian wars had ended and the Russians had appeared in Caucasia, Armenia had clearly entered a new period in its history, and the exact situation in the country, and in particular, its eastern quarter, at this time must be clarified.

For the purposes of the text translated here, the eighteenth century in Armenian history is defined as the era between the failure of the Persian campaign of Peter the Great in 1722 and the last Russian War with Persia in 1827, a period of just over a century that ended in the occupation of Persian Armenia by Tsarist Russia in the years 1805-1827. Contrary to common belief, ample sources exist for the history of this period, albeit not always of a conventional nature,¹³ and the investigation of a number of major topics still awaits the attention of modern historians.

A number of trends, both major and minor, characterized the eighteenth century in Armenia and these were to have a considerable effect on the future of the country as a whole. Seven of these are of particular importance: The most significant of them was the continued decline of both the Persian and the Ottoman Empires. The decreasing importance of Persia in this era and of Ottoman Turkey as well, is underscored by the declining number of Western travelers crossing the high plateau. Not until the emergence of the “Eastern Question” in the nineteenth century would the expeditions of foreign

visitors resume in frequency and expand to become a flood, three important exceptions being the explorers: Johann Guldenstadt in the 1770s, Peter Pallas in 1793-1794 and Jacob Reineggs in 1779-1783, the last two of whom were sent out by the Russian government to gather intelligence about every aspect of the Caucasus range. Reineggs alone made five journeys of exploration to the Caucasus in the same century.¹⁴

A second important development or, at least, so it seemed at the time, was the partial unification of Georgia, that is, the merger of the kingdoms of Kartli (central Georgia) and Kakheti (East Georgia), which, until the annexation of the country by the Russians, served as a lodestar for those who would seek the independence of their homeland or, at least, its reemergence as a vassal state of the increasingly looming Russian Empire. In 1744, the house of Mukhrani, the senior line of the Bagrationi royal family, was dispossessed, and in 1762 the throne of Kartli passed to the junior line in the person of King Hercules (Geo. *Irakli*) II, who was already ruling as king of Kakheti. In this way the two main Georgian kingdoms became reunited and only the small kingdom of Imereti and its four dependent principalities remained outside the fold.¹⁵

Yet a third fact of Caucasian history at this time was the increasing independence of the Persian khanates in southeastern Caucasia, most of whose khans, originally mere governors, became hereditary dynasts after the death of Nadir Shah Afshar (1747). These rulers, in an age of civil war in Persia, paid little more than nominal allegiance to the later shahs, who increasingly had to be satisfied with an often irregularly delivered annual tribute and a vague acknowledgment of their supposedly sovereign authority.

Not until the nineteenth century was the shah able to reassert his direct rule in Caucasia and then only over the khanate of Iravan (Arm. *Erevan*), and only for a short time.

Fourth, economically great changes were taking place in Caucasia in this period, for, in spite of a long period of peace in Eastern Anatolia, the shift in the trade routes, brought about by the discovery of the New World and the subsequent Age of Exploration, was leading to a gradual and irreversible decline of the role of Armenia as a nexus of international trade. Meanwhile the increasing penetration of cheaply produced European manufactured goods (in particular, textiles and, later, metalwork) would soon lead to the ruin of the traditional local craft and cottage industries.

Fifth, the eighteenth century saw the decline of traditional Armenian culture. The last Armenian manuscripts were copied in this century, miniature painting came to an end, no Armenian churches of any significance were erected, and none, save for St. Thaddeus in Iran (begun, in 1818), was characterized by anything that might be called architectural merit. On the other hand, it was in this century that the Armenians became seriously exposed to the burgeoning civilization of Western Europe. If medieval Roman Catholic missionary activity had virtually died out in Armenia by the mid-eighteenth century, the Vatican established an Armenian Catholic patriarchate in Lebanon in 1742. If manuscripts were no longer being copied, a printing press was established at Echmiatsin in 1770; if Armenian cultural activity was feeble in the homeland, it reached new heights in the bosom of the Armenian Catholic order of the Mekhitarists, who, at their monastery founded in Venice in 1717 and their sister monastery established in Trieste in 1773 (transferred to Vienna in 1810), were, for an entire century, the only important cultural institutions that the Armenians possessed.

Increasing contacts with the West had another beneficial effect in that they led to an increasing activism on the part of the catholicosate of the Armenian Church at Echmiatsin. Under the capable Catholicos Simon (*Simeon*) of Erevan (1763-1780), the Holy See not only established its own printing press, but put its library and archives in order, and secured control over the Armenian Church within the Russian Empire, defeating the pretensions of the rival Aghuan catholicosate. Simon also restored the mother cathedral at Echmiatsin and hired a leading artist of the day to redecorate its interior, albeit in a Persian style. As Armenian monasticism declined as a whole in Armenia, the monastery of the Holy See at Echmiatsin was preparing itself, as it were, for the tasks that would face it in the century to follow.

In a sixth area, the political sphere, this was the age of the meliks of Eastern Armenia and their role in the Armenian national revival. Whether sending delegations to Peter the Great and Catherine the Great, keeping in touch with her advisers, fending off the Persians, negotiating with the kings of Georgia, siding with one Muslim khan against another, initiating contacts with Armenians across the Turkish frontier, restoring local churches, commissioning *khachkar*-s, and soliciting alms and other contributions from the Armenians of Iran, Poland, or India, these mountain chieftains still remained the only political leaders that the country had.

Finally, seventh and above all else, this period was characterized by the growing might of the Russian Empire. With the Turkish and Persian Empires in ever deeper decline, and the Western powers still too remote to be a source of aid, it was clear to the Armenians that their hopes for liberation from Muslim domination lay entirely in their increasingly powerful neighbor to the north, and it is not surprising that the end of this period was ushered in by the sudden decision of Russia to intervene, once again, in the affairs of Caucasia, this time to the point of permanently occupying territory south of the natural barrier of the great Caucasus range. In North Caucasia in this period, the most noteworthy events were the steadily increasing Russian involvement in the affairs of the local statelets and tribal groups and the increasing amount of intelligence gathering conducted by the imperial government as seen in the works of Guldenstadt, Reineggs, and Pallas, cited above, and other agents of the Russian Empire.

The Situation in Southeastern Caucasia

While Armenia and the East Georgian kingdom of Kartli / Iberia occupied the central lands south of the Caucasus chain, Aghuank was a kingdom that had taken shape in southeastern Caucasia, between the Caucasus range on the north, the River Kur, the Georgian lands to the west and the Caspian Sea on the east.¹⁶ Originally a federation of twenty-six Caucasian tribes each under its own chieftain, by the second century BCE the Aghuans had unified under a single king who established his capital at Kabala, north of the Kur.¹⁷ For some reason not clear to us, the Romano-Persian treaty of *ca.* 387 CE dividing Armenia between the two empires left Aghuank within the Persian orbit and the kingdom was granted—probably by the Persians—Artsakh and Utik (the later Karabagh and Ganje), two of the lands of Eastern Armenia between the Kur and Arax Rivers, extending westward as far as the Artsakh (Karabagh) Mountains.

This newly enlarged Aghuan kingdom¹⁸ (Arab.-Pers. *Arran*) with its capital soon transferred from Kabala to Partaw (Tk. *Barda*), south of the Kur, prospered under Persian domination for 250 years but over the centuries of Arab rule that followed, the kingdom broke up, its territory shrinking under Muslim pressure until only its westernmost province, the land of Artsakh, remained under Aghuan control. This territory, somewhat larger than the area of modern-day Nagorno-Karabagh, which *grosso modo* occupies the same area, already ethnically Armenian in part or soon to be totally Armenianized where it

wasn't Armenian already, became the main center of local self-government until the emergence of the medieval Armenian kingdoms on the high plateau in the ninth and tenth centuries.

With the disintegration of Aghuank in the early ninth century, there emerged a number of statelets in southeast Caucasia, their rulers claiming both the title "king of Aghuank" and the leadership of the still numerous Christians in southeastern Caucasia.¹⁹ Of these "pseudo-Aghuanks," the most important was the Armenian principality known from its chief fortress as "Khachen"²⁰ and occasionally, from its location, as the "kingdom of Artsakh." The greatest ruler of this state was Hasan-Jalal-Dola (*ca.* 1214-1261), who allied himself with the Mongol ruler of Persia, Hulagu-*khan*, enlarged his state through marriage to include the whole of modern-day Karabagh, and who erected the great cathedral at the monastery of Gandzasar, making it the sepulchral abbey of his family. From this prince, who on occasion used the title "king of Aghuank,"²¹ was descended the family from which eventually emerged two and possibly three of the five melik families with which Archbishop Sergius will be concerned: the houses of Hasan-Jalaliants, Shahnazarians, and possibly Avaniants. The fourth and fifth houses, those of the Beglariants and Israeliants, were, however, descended from Jalal's grandfather, Hasan I (1142-1182) and so a part of the same dynasty. All five, of course, whatever their origin, were related through repeated ties of intermarriage.²²

The Aghuan Church

According to the Aghuan tradition, preserved by MD/MK (I.6-7), the Aghuans were first evangelized in the first century CE. by St. Elias, one of the seventy disciples of the original twelve. The Armenian tradition, however, asserts a later conversion by St. Grigoris, grandson of St. Gregory the Illuminator, in the early fourth century.²³ In actual fact, however, there is strong evidence that Christianity was still relatively weak in Aghuank prior to the early fifth century owing to the lack of an alphabet into which the Scriptures could be rendered in the local language, a problem only solved in the 420s by the skill of St. Mesrop Mashtots.²⁴ The Aghuans had their own "chief bishop" by the fifth century, who, in the mid-sixth assumed the title "catholicos" putting him on the same level as the heads of the Armenian and Iberian (East Georgian) Churches.

The Aghuan state, as we have just seen, disintegrated in the Arab period after which the jurisdiction of its church correspondingly shrank until, in an inscription at the monastery of Gtish or Ktish in Dizak of the mid-thirteenth century, its ecclesiastical domain consisted solely of a reduced territory in Artsakh²⁵ "...having for limits the River Aghuan²⁶ to [its juncture with] the Arax, to the sands of Gatuhat;²⁷ Vakunik,²⁸ on the River Vaghazn;²⁹ to Karatnik³⁰ with the river of Khozan; Arist with its river, Hakari with the river of Hazar; Krtaget, its river and its limits;³¹ Dizak,³² [and] Belukan³³ with its river..."³⁴

Sometime in the fifteenth century or perhaps even before, the catholicosate of Aghuank became hereditary in the possession of the Hasan-Jalaliants family, princes of Khachen, the see passing from uncle to nephew³⁵ until suppressed by the Russians in 1830.³⁶ In the period with which Archbishop Sergius is concerned, however, the catholicosate of Aghuank was the second after Echmiatsin of the six autonomous sees of the Armenian Church, the other four being the catholicosates of Aghtamar and Sis, and the patriarchates of Constantinople and Jerusalem).

The Russian Advance into Caucasia

The Russian approach to Caucasia began early in the tenth century, when small fleets of Rus pirates, sailing from the mouth of the Volga, raided the coasts of the Caspian Sea, one such flotilla actually navigating the river Kur in 944 and sacking the great city of Partaw, capital of Aghuank, which never recovered. This was the first direct Russian contact with the Caucasian peoples. Over two centuries later, in 1185, Yuri, son of Andrew Bogoliubsky, prince of Suzdal, was briefly the second husband and consort of Queen Thamar the Great of Georgia.

By 1554, the Russians had made themselves felt in North Caucasia, when, having conquered the khanate of Kazan on the upper Volga two years before, they now annexed the khanate of Astrakhan at the mouth of the same river, whose rulers had exercised some jurisdiction, however nominal, over the mountain peoples. In 1582, it was the turn of the khanate of Sibir to be added to the Muscovite realm, after which only the khanate of Krim (the Crimean Peninsula) was left of the various successor states of the Golden Horde. It, too, was annexed by Russia in 1783.

These Russian conquests made a profound impression on the peoples of North and South Caucasia and not only did delegations of Circassian and Kabardian emissaries begin to appear in Moscow (as a result of which Ivan IV “the Terrible,” 1533–1584, took a Kabardian princess as one of his many successive wives), but one catholicos of Armenia, Stephen V (1545–1567), after a trip to raise funds among the Armenians of Poland, made a visit to Moscow as well. Armenian merchants had been trading in Muscovy since the fourteenth century and continued to do so in increasing numbers thereafter. Real Russian encroachments in Caucasia, however, began only in the late seventeenth century, when Cossacks—at that time, largely composed of runaway serfs and slaves, freebooters, and other adventurers, who had settled along the vague southern frontiers of the Russian Empire—came into conflict with the Chechens and the tribes of Daghestan.

This was, *grosso modo*, the situation in the early eighteenth century, when Israel Ori and the meliks of Siunik and Karabagh began to negotiate with the Russians and to include the Aghuan see in their political plans.

The Age of the Meliks, 1678-1828

The institution of the melikdoms appears to have been the result of the Armenian policy of Jahan *Shah*, lord of the Black Sheep Turcomans, who, in the 1460s, recognized and formalized the existence of a number of shadowy principalities that had already existed *de facto* from the decline of the principality of Khachen.³⁷ His motive seems to have been an attempt to use these Armenian petty states to protect his northern frontier.

The decline of Ottoman Turkey and Safavid Persia was not lost on the Armenians, who were also aware of the growing might of the powers of Europe. James (*Hagop*) IV, (1655-1680) a native of New Julfa, the Armenian suburb of Isfahan in Persia, elected catholicos at Echmiatsin, brought with him a firsthand knowledge of Persian decline and of the increasing power and technological superiority of the West. Toward the very end of his reign, he convoked a secret meeting of meliks and high Armenian clergy at the Holy See, where he offered them a plan to liberate Armenia from Muslim oppression by accepting union with the Church of Rome and placing Armenia under the protection of the Christian powers of the West. This was the

beginning of the Armenian national awakening that was to develop so remarkably in the century ahead.

This period of Armenian history between 1678 and 1828 may well be called the "Age of the Meliks," for just as the activities of the Mekhitarist Congregations represent virtually the sole higher cultural life of the Armenians in this period, so the activities of the meliks in Karabagh and Siunik represent the only active political life that the Armenians possessed, the movement for the national liberation of the Armenian people beginning precisely among these few remnants of the Armenian nobility that still existed.

The Five Meliks of Karabagh

We have already encountered the five melikdoms of Karabagh (*Khamsayi Melikutiunnerè*, from Arab. *khams* "five" and *malik* "king" but here meaning "ruler" or "dynast") in connection with the program of Jahan-Shah (d. 1467), the lord of the Black Sheep Turcomans, who appears to have reestablished the local dynasts in Karabagh after their dispossession by Timur and to have granted them the hereditary rights and privileges they were to maintain under Persian rule until the coming of the Russians some 350 years later.

The count of five for the number of meliks in Karabagh is arrived at by omitting those of Gegham and Gardman as being outside of Karabagh properly called, and those of Tsar because they were not part of the melikal "league." The *Khamsayi Melikdoms*, then, were those of, from north to south, Giulistan or Talesh, Jraberd or Chraberd, Khachen, Varanda, and Dizak.³⁸

These meliks in Karabagh and, to a lesser extent, those of Siunik, were autonomous in every sense, having full executive, legislative, judicial, military, and fiscal powers over their people. They governed their territories as they saw fit and were custodians of the customary laws of their people. They could issue their own decrees and pass judgment in all legal matters, and they collected their own taxes out of which they personally paid the annual tribute to the shah. The meliks also maintained their own military forces consisting of one to two thousand men-at-arms (all infantry) although in an emergency about five times as many troops might be raised. Each melik had his own banner (*droshak*), commander (*zoravar*), and under him his chiliarchs (*hazarapet-s* "commanders of a thousand" [troops]) and centurions (*hariurapet-s*; Tk. *yüzbashi-s*, "commanders of a hun-

dred” [troops]), these officers often being members of the meliks’ own family.

The meliks were addressed by the European title *baron* (picked up from the Crusaders in the later Middle Ages and in this context meaning “lord”), their younger brothers and sons having the Turkish title *beg* (Arm. *bek*) attached to their first names (*e.g.* Davit-Bek); the wives of the meliks had appended to their names the Turkish *khatun* “queen” (but here meaning “lady”) and were addressed as *khanum* “madame” (*e.g.*, Anna-khatun / Anna-khanum).

These five melik houses were, of course, but a pale reflection of the Armenian nobility of old. Only a few of them possessed real fortresses (*e.g.* *Giulistan*, *Jraberd*, *Hakhalakhberd*); for the most part, they defended themselves from forts (*e.g.*, Halidzor, or Chankhchi / Avetaranots) and fortlets rather than from great fortresses, and some of them dwelled in more or less pretentious houses (as at Togh in Dizak or Haterk in Khachen) rather than in castles. The five melik houses of the *Khamsa* league were:

*1. The house of Hasan-Jalaliants, meliks of Khachen.*³⁹

This was the senior line of the Vakhtankian house, itself the senior line of the house of Siunik-Khachen, descended from Hasan-Jalal-Dola (*ca.* 1214-1261), from whom it took its name, and through him from the Aranshahik kings of Aghuank, the shahs of Achaemenid and Sasanid Persia, the Mihranid princes of Gardman, the Bagratid kings of Armenia, the Artsrunid princes and kings of Vaspurakan, and the princes and kings of Siunik. With their lands located in the north central part of Karabagh (Khachen proper), centered at the villages of Akana and Haterk, the Hasan-Jalalids not only monopolized the catholicosate of Aghuank from at least the fourteenth century, but also treated the catholicosal seat, the great monastery of Gandzasar, as their ancestral abbey, the repository of their wealth, and as their family mausoleum.⁴⁰

2. The house of Shahanshahiants or Ulubekiants, meliks of Gegham.

In the fifteenth century, the Vakhtankian house, the senior line of Siunik-Khachen, itself broke into two branches: the Shahanshahians and the Jahanshahians. From the Shahanshahians, who received as their share of the family domains the northernmost districts of Gegharkunik and Gardman, were descended the Ulubekian meliks of Gegham, who survived as the Shahnazarians meliks (Russ. *Melik-*

Shanazarov) of Mazra or Sotk in eastern Gegharkunik, and the Meliks Geghamiants (Russ. *Melik-Gegamov*), of western Gegharkunik an important family of Erevan in the nineteenth century.⁴¹

Apart from tombstones and occasional colophons in old manuscripts, this house of Gegham comes into the light of day when Shah Abbas the Great, grateful for the hospitality shown him by Shahnazar I (1578-1606), during his sojourn in Gegham in 1603, recognized his titles and the possession of his lands:

"The Shah presented [Melik Shahnazar] with a robe of fine and elegant cloth, conferred upon him the title of melik of the country as well as domains and villages upon his brothers . . . he established these as hereditary, forever incommutable from one generation to the next."⁴²

3. *The house of Beglarians, meliks of Giulistan* (Per. *Gülestan*; Russ. *Gulistan*).

This house represents the third line of the dynasty of Siunik-Khachen, being descended from Kara (*Ghara*) Grigor "Gregory the Great," (a younger son of Hasan I the Great (1142-1182), grandfather of Hasan-Jalal-Dola), and of his wife Susan-Dop, sister of Sergius II, Prince Mkhargrdzeli of Georgia. Their descendants, known as the Dopians, as opposed to the Vakhtankians, received Giulistan in the far north of Karabagh as their share of the family domains, together with the castle of that name, although we do not know when these allocations were made. The Beglarians family (Russ. *Melik-Beglarov*) was descended from this line as was the house of Abovian.⁴³

4. *The house of Israelants, meliks of Jraberd or Chraberd.*

The house of Israelants was the only one of the five in Karabagh that was not native to the region. The Israelians were, however, of ultimate Siunid origin, being a branch of the melik house of Tsaghadjor (later Zangezur, in the smaller sense of the term, that is, the old Siunian district of Aghahechk), who were themselves descended from the Proshiants house of Vayots-dzor, a branch of the princes of Khachen. Melik Haykaz of this family came to Karabagh in 1687, where the Hasan-Jalalids (possibly recognizing him as a kinsman) gave him the old fortress of Jraberd or Chraberd "water castle" at the confluence of the Terter and the Trghin Rivers, together with a relatively small district around it. Israel Ori, cited

above, was of this house.⁴⁴

5. The house of Avaniants /Eganiants, meliks of Dizak.

Descended (from Vasak (or Smbat?), perhaps a son of Hasan I the Great, grandfather of Hasan-Jalal-Dola, and, if so, a collateral third branch of the house of Siunik-Khachen, this line received as its share of the family domains the district of Ktish or Gtish, the later Dizak, that is, the southern third of Khachen / Karabagh, the old principality of Ktish-Baghk which had passed to Hasan-Jalal-Dola when he married the granddaughter of the last king of [Ktish-] Baghk in the thirteenth century. The seat of the Avaniants was at the village of Togh or Dogh (Russ. *Tog*; Azer. *Tug*), and within their domains lay the great Armeno-Aghuan monastery and pilgrimage center of Amaras, reputed burial place of St. Grigorios, grandson of St. Gregory the Illuminator and apostle to the Aghuans.⁴⁵ It seems likely that the meliks of Somkhiti in Georgia were a branch of the Avaniants,⁴⁶ and it is possible, though not certain, that the Aghamaliants, meliks of Erevan, were also a branch. In time a member of the Avaniants' family embraced Islam and his line became known as *Eganiants*.⁴⁷

In addition to these original melik families, two other related lines emerged. Melik Shahnazar of Gegham, having won favor with Shah Abbas I during the latter's sojourn in Gegham in 1603 received the shah's grant of two additional lands for his brothers: Varanda (a district located between Khachen and Dizak and originally a part of the former) and Gardman, north of Giulistan.⁴⁸ Melik Shahnazar apparently appointed two of his brothers to rule each of these territories, each of whom founded his own line.

*6. The house of Shahnazarians, meliks of Varanda.*⁴⁹

With their seat at the village of Avetaranots (Tk. *Chanakhchi*), the meliks of Varanda ruled the south central part of Karabagh, Shah Abbas apparently having detached this district from the lands of the meliks of Khachen. These Shahnazarids of Varanda played a great role in the struggle with the Azeris for Karabagh in the early twentieth century.

7. The house of Shahnazarians, meliks of Gardman.

The lands of the house of Gardman lay in the valley of the Shamkhor River, centered at the village of Oskanapat from which the melikdom occasionally took its name. The house of Mirzaian, meliks of Getabek, also located in Gardman, may have been a branch of this

family.⁵⁰ Their seat was at the village of Getabek.

8. The house of Jahanshah, meliks of Tsar.

From Jahanshah, brother of Shahanshah, were descended the Jahanshahid meliks of Tsar, located on the uppermost valley of the Terter River, centered at the large village of Tsar in the district earlier called Vaykunik. Here lay Handaberd ("Handu Castle") and the hot springs, now called Isti-su "warm waters," that had once served as the royal baths of the Aghuan kings.⁵¹

Other Melik Houses

Though the five meliks of Karabagh were the most important and the only ones who were fully autonomous, they were not the only meliks in Eastern Armenia with whom the Muslim authorities chose to deal. The Persians recognized meliks wherever Armenians lived in the Persian khanates of Caucasia, although in Siunik these were only semi-autonomous and elsewhere many were little more than hereditary ethnarchs or mayors, as it were, of the local Armenians of a given town (*e.g.*, the Aghamaliants meliks of the Armenians of Erevan or the Babutashvili meliks of those of Tiflis). Others were mere village headmen (*e.g.*, the meliks of Garni, Agulis, Surmalu, Davalu, *etc.*). Some of these lesser meliks may well have been descended from the Armenian princely families of old, but others would have probably been of mere gentry (*azat*) descent, while still others were simply headmen of larger villages who had acquired a certain standing under Persian rule.

Counting the five meliks of Karabagh (six if we add the meliks of Tsar), there were well over forty meliks in the Persian khanates and Georgia: at least eleven in the khanate of Erevan (one in Erevan city, itself; others in Gegham/Sotk, Ghulali, Parakank, Dalughardash, Gandzak/Noraduz, Karbi, Garni, Surmalu, Agulis, and Davalu); twelve in the khanate of Nakhichevan (Sisian/Angeghakot, Tatew, Ghapan/Bekh, Meghri/Kenavuz, Bargiushat, Chavèndur, Kashatagh/Tsaghadzor or Zangazur, Nakhichevan, Chugha/Julfa, Agulis, and Ordubat); four in the khanate of Ganje (Hachakap, Barsum, Gardman/ Oskanapat, and Getashen); and one each in the khanates of Shirvan (at Shemakhi), Nukhi, Shaki, Baku, Maku, and Khoy. There were four other melik houses in the kingdom of Georgia, that is, in the joint kingdom of Kartli-Kakheti, united in 1762 (at Tiflis itself and in the districts of Somkhiti, Pambaki, and Aghstev). There

do not appear, however, to have been any meliks in West Georgia (Imereti and its four vassal principalities), but in Persia proper there were Armenian meliks at Salmas and Marand, and in Karadagh at the village of Mushkambar.⁵² There were no meliks in Derbent.⁵³

Israel Ori and the Rise of the Armenian Liberation Movement

As already mentioned, the beginning of the Armenian struggle for liberation from Muslim rule began at the end of the reign of the Catholicos James (*Yakob*) IV of Julfa (1655-1680). In 1679, obviously well aware of the declining power of Persia and familiar with the growing might of the West through his acquaintance with European merchants and missionaries and the representatives of the Great Powers of Europe at Isfahan (French, Dutch, British, Portuguese, etc.), the catholicos called a secret meeting of nobles and high clergy at Echmiatsin with the intention of uniting the Armenian Church with that of Rome and thereby seeking aid from the great Catholic powers of the West. The meliks and the catholicos of Aghuank were in full accord with this plan, and the same year a large delegation set out for Rome headed by the catholicos himself. After stopping in Tiflis to confer with King George XI (1675-1688) of central Georgia (*Kartli*), the embassy went on to Constantinople. There, however, the catholicos, aged eighty, died (August, 1680) and the meliks and the rest of his entourage returned to Armenia. The only exception was an intrepid youth of nineteen, Israel *Ori* (1661-1711), son of Melik Israel of Jraberd / Chraberd, who set out alone to achieve the original goal of the mission, eventually making contact with Peter the Great.

Ori (an honorific signifying “lord”),⁵⁴ described by his contemporary Armenians as being a descendant of Prosh, a thirteenth-century prince of Vayots Dzor,⁵⁵ was born in that district in the village of Martiros. After arriving in Western Europe, he spent many years in France and England before settling as a merchant in the state of the Palatinate in Germany, where he married and sired two sons. Returning to Eastern Armenia in 1699, after many adventures, Ori discovered that the new catholicos at Echmiatsin, Nahapet (1691-1705), wanted no part of any rebellion against Muslim rule. Ori thus journeyed on to the monastery of Gandzasar in Karabagh, where he placed his plans before the Aghuan catholicos (and historian), Isaiah (Esai) Hasan-Jalaliants (1702-1728), who was considerably more receptive to his ideas. Isaiah sent Ori to Russia as the meliks’ representative to Peter the Great, accompanied by the abbot of Gandzasar,

Minas Tigranian, as Isaiah's personal legate to Moscow, at that time still the Russian capital.

Ori was received by Peter in 1702, who promised much but delivered little during Ori's lifetime. He did, however, send him as Russia's first ambassador to Persia with a splendid equipage, allowed the Armenian Church to establish itself in his empire, and gave the Armenians complete freedom to settle in Russia and to trade freely within and across its frontiers. Minas Tigranian was designated the first Armenian prelate of the Armenian Church in Russia with his seat at Astrakhan, thus leading to a serious rivalry between the catholicoi of Echmiatsin and Gandzasar over which was to have jurisdiction over this growing and increasingly wealthy see. It was in Astrakhan that Ori died in 1711 at the age of fifty.

The Persian Campaign of Peter the Great

As we have seen, the Safavid dynasty of Iran had reached its apogee under Shah Abbas I (1588-1629) only to decline steadily thereafter. The Afghans were already raiding Persia by the beginning of the eighteenth century, while in Caucasia; the Lesghian tribes of Dagestan had begun raiding the Caucasian lowlands from 1709. In 1722, the Afghans, under Mahmud, chief of the Ghilzai tribe, invaded Persia and, after a furious assault, captured Isfahan, the Safavid capital, during which the Armenian community of New Julfa, lying across the river from the city's walls, suffered the most grievous harm.

Finished with his long, drawn-out Northern War with Sweden, and learning of the collapse of Persia, Peter the Great (1682-1725) hastily organized a mammoth force for a Persian campaign the exact goals of which have never been fully clear.⁵⁶ Obviously, the ports of the Caspian would have been of great value to Russia in attempting to establish a Russian route to India, but if the ports were all that Russia wanted, Peter's army was really much too large. Using the mistreatment of Russian merchants in Central Asia and the depredations of the Lesghians as his justification, the tsar left Moscow on 13 May 1722 with a total force of 61,000 troops, led by Peter in person. The tsar embarked at Astrakhan on 18 June and arrived in the dominions of the *shamkhal* of Tarku, a tribal state along the coast north of Darband, where he was welcomed warmly. Then, joined by his cavalry, 9,000-strong, which had traveled by land, Peter took Darband / Derbent, whose Persian *naib*, the local representative of the shah, opened its gates to him and as a reward was left in his position.

Thereafter, however, the campaign turned against the tsar. The port of Baku refused to surrender, and Peter was faced with the alternatives of laying siege to the dry, isolated town or doing nothing at all. Meanwhile, a fleet of supplies coming from Astrakhan was destroyed in one of the sudden storms that often arise on the Caspian, at just about the time that the Russians were discovering that the local terrain provided no pasturage for their horses. The summer heat also took its toll on an army of Russians totally unused to the hot, humid climate, so that horses and men alike began to die in great numbers. Then, as the Russian army marched south toward Baku and west to Shemakhi, word was received from the sultan of Turkey that any further Russian advance would lead to war. Leaving a garrison of 3,000 men at Derbent, Peter withdrew to Astrakhan, arriving on 4 October. The tsar was not finished with Persia, however, and in November sent a combined military and naval expedition to occupy the Caspian town of Rasht in Gilan. Then, in July 1723, Peter finally took Baku, and the last Safavid shah, Tahmasp, unable to resist and hoping for Russian aid against the Afghans, ceded all of his Caspian provinces: Daghestan, Shirvan, Gilan, Mazandaran, and Astarabad. The Caspian became, at least for the moment, a Russian lake.

The Role of Avan yüzbashi

The first important figure in the Armenian national movement after Israel Ori and Minas Tigranian was Avan-yüzbashi,⁵⁷ the first of two Armenians ever to be recognized as a prince by the Russian government.⁵⁸ A certain confusion has arisen in connection with the identity of this individual that needs to be clarified here. In the preparation of his magisterial *Manuel* (1976) and its revision *Dynasties* (1990), the pioneer Western Caucasiologist, Cyril Toumanoff, treats Melik Avan III of Dizak (Avan-yüzbashi) and Melik Egan II, son of the *vardapet* Luke, as one and the same person. Extrapolating from this, he takes the names Avan and Egan to be identical and, whenever they appear in his genealogies, he indicates the two names as homonyms—probably induced into this error by the work of others (*e.g.* Raffi, and Leo).

The problem did not stop with the mere equation of the two names by Toumanoff, however, but went further by confusing the genealogical charts in which the individuals belonged. For example, in his Charts 49 and 50,⁵⁹ Avan is made a son of the *vardapet* Luke when, in reality only Egan was the son of the cleric. I, too, in my

own work, followed Toumanoff in this confusion of Avan and Egan and, to my regret, J.-M. Thierry (1991) and probably other readers as well, followed the indications that I drew from Toumanoff. Over the years, in my own genealogical researches I occasionally had reason to doubt the equation of Avan and Egan (*e.g.* the dates of their deaths were not the same) but not until the editing of this little work by Archbishop Sergius Hasan-Jalaliants did it become clear that Melik Avan III and Melik Egan were indeed two different individuals and that the two names are not to be equated as a matter of course. We need to examine here what we know of Avan *yüzbaşı*.

The exploits of Melik Avan III, referred to in our text by his military rank as Avan *yüzbaşı*, form the matter of the first three chapters of the history by Archbishop Sergius Hasan-Jalaliants. According to this source, translated in the present volume, in 1722, Avan, apparently in fear of an Ottoman invasion of Karabagh now that the Russians had withdrawn, began by erecting a major fortress to guard the approaches to central Karabagh (apparently Bayad in the valley of the Gargar River). From there, with a large army at hand and with the support of his comrades-in-arms, Tarkhan-*yüzbaşı*, Ohan-*yüzbaşı*, Baghir-*yüzbaşı*, Melik Gregory, and Melik Mejnun, Avan successfully held off and defeated the Turks and then rebelled against the Persians as described here by Archbishop Sergius.⁵⁹

In his career of service to the Russians, Avan-*yüzbaşı* received recognition of his status as an Armenian prince and the rank of general in the tsar's army. Unfortunately, the increasing threat of the Ottomans and the Persians, as well as the hostility of the local Muslim khans, forced Avan to leave Caucasia and settle in Russia where he died in 1735.

The Founding of Shushi

Associated with Avan *yüzbaşı* is the founding of the *sghnakh* or fortified camp of Shushi,⁶⁰ which ultimately became one of the major settlements in South Caucasia. The site of Shushi sits atop an isolated, mesa-like mountain rising some 1600m (*ca.* 4,800 ft.) ASL. On its south side steep cliffs protect the town; to the north, where the slope is less precipitous, it was later defended by its walls.

Until the early nineteenth century there were no cities or even towns in Artsakh-Karabagh, nor do there appear to have ever been any before that time. The nobles, in the past, had lived in castles

(Aghuan, Berdakur, Khachen/Khachaghakaberd, etc.); the common people in humble villages of semi-subterranean huts. As we now know, Shushi, itself, on the top of its mesa, already existed in the medieval period but only as a village. In 1981, near the city walls in the northern part of the Shushi plateau, workmen excavated grave-stone slabs, capitals, five khachkars, and traces of a large prior settlement. The oldest of the khachkars is dated 420 of the Armenian era (971 CE); the second dates from 1252 CE, but the most significant is the one citing Prince Hasan-Jalal (*ca.* 1214-1261), demonstrating that in the thirteenth century the plateau, together with the settlements near it, lay in the principality of Khachen.⁶¹ The history of Shushi thus begins no later than this period and very possibly even earlier. Here, or in its immediate vicinity, are still found ancient settlements, the remains of palaces, half-ruined churches, the castle of Avan Yüzbashi, cemeteries, and *khachkar*-s “cross-stones” (stone funeral steles engraved with an ornamental cross) besides many other monuments. Crossing the River Gargar, flowing through a neighboring gorge, are two single-span stone bridges dating, respectively, from the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. These carry the roads from Siunik to Artsakh, onward to the southern shore of Lake Sevan via Varanda, Khachen, Berdadzor, Tsar, and Gegham.

Among the nearby settlements is the historic village of Shosh. Earlier observers thought that Shushi took its name from this village of Shosh (a name becoming *Shushi* when the word *berd* is affixed to it: *Shushi-berd* “Castle of Shosh”), which lies below the mesa not far from its southern side. The historian Leo (Arakel Babajanyan) considered this origin uncertain, thinking that the village could have gotten its name from the fort, and that the fort probably existed earlier.⁶²

By the southern foot of the Shushi fortress, are found the settlements of Karin-tak and Khunot or Hunot, famous for their caves, the names of two of which, Avana-karan, and Meliki-karan, suggest their use during the eighteenth century struggles of the melikal wars. The nearby palace of the local princes, the castle of Avan-yüzbashi, and the single-span bridge in the village of Khunot (1720), which considerably improved the defensive capability of Shushi, played an important role in the life of the fortress and the town that grew up around it.

Fifty years after Leo, the academician Ashot Hovanisyan (sic), basing himself on documents dated 1724 in the Museum of Armenian History (Docs. 199, 200, 212, etc.), was of the opinion that the

walls of Shushi were founded by Avan-yüzbashi that same year. The first two of these sources were signed by Avan and by Mirza, another yüzbashi. The third was signed by their associates: Tarkhan, Panin, Paghin and Sategh. Document 200 was written in Shushi *sghnakh* (military camp) in the same year. As noted, this was the period of the rise of the Armenian liberation movement and, in this connection, Karabagh became the locus of several such sghnakh-s, one of which, as seen from Doc. 200, Avan had built in 1719-1724 atop the mesa on the site of the later town of Shushi.⁶³

The foundation of this camp is also mentioned in the letter to the Russian court from the Russian General Matyushkin dated December 19, 1725, in which he notes that Avan-yüzbashi, heeding the request of the Karabagh population, instead of going to Gilan with his 100 men, stayed in the sghnakh and there built a fort.⁶⁴ Another celebrated personage of the time, Ivan Karapet, in his report on the situation in Ganje, Karabagh, and Georgia in early February 1724 again describes the Shushi sghnakh and its defenders, the Armenian princes and yüzbashi-s.

Thus, as a large strategic camp with an arsenal, the fort of Shushi (Arm. *berd* or Tk. *ghala*) was founded only at the beginning of the eighteenth century by Avan yüzbashi. Its expansion into a proper fortress was completed in the early 1750's by an Azeri Turkish adventurer, Panah Ali (r. 1747-1761), first khan of Karabagh, and its restoration and further enlargement took place in the beginning of nineteenth century, through the efforts of the Russians. Setting himself up first in Shah-Bulagh in the foothills of eastern Karabagh, Panah Ali planned to use that fortress as a base from which to master the Armenian meliks of Karabagh. The quarrels between the meliks over the activities of Shahnazar III (r. ca.1750-1791) in the mid-eighteenth century, led to the latter's forming an alliance with Panah Ali, an alliance made attractive to Panah because Shahnazar III was capable of mustering 1,000 infantrymen, a significant force in those days.

In 1750 Panah Ali transferred his headquarters from Shah-Bulagh to the fort of Shushi which, erected atop a low mountain plateau, stood on much higher ground than Shah-Bulagh and was therefore more easily defensible. Shushi, however, as it existed at that time, did not look to Panah as if it could resist his more powerful enemies and for this reason, he began its reconstruction. Once completed, and throughout his reign, the fortress came to be called *Panahabad* be-

coming the capital of Panah's newly created khanate of Karabagh. Valuable information on the rebuilding process (1750-1752) is contained in *The History of the Region of Artsakh*, a manuscript preserved in the Mesrop Mashtots Manuscript Repository (*Matenadaran*) in Erevan, in which the deacon James Poghosyan-Sakarians of Shushi (*Yakob Shushetsi*) describes the rebuilding of the Shushi fort and the difficulties involved in the process: "... The khan's order was to conscript a man from every house in the region to put their efforts into building the fort. According to this command every village should have its chief [responsible for this conscription]. They also brought the most celebrated architects to the mountain. There they erected a 5,000 foot long rampart with fifty towers." These walls, over 2,5km long, begin from the high rock on the southwestern side of the plateau and, "climbing" by sharply steep spurs and cliffs, they encircle the fortified town from the west, then go down by a slope, turn west and cling to the rock. Shushi's other, southern wing is fully enclosed by huge natural ramparts of vertical stone, and the eastern and western ones are partly so.

The important strategic position of the new fortress did not escape the attention of James of Shushi: "Only the half of this construction belongs to the fort; the other half was secured by God" (i.e. by natural defenses). These impregnable ramparts were constructed of adobe, were 7-8m *ca.* (20-ca. 23 ft) high, and are fastened by half-rounded hollow towers."

The new fortress had four gates. At first the north-eastern one was called the Jraberd Gate, then later the Ganje, and then, still later the Elizavetpol; the southwestern one was called the Erevan Gate, the southern one the Amaras Gate, and the eastern one the Mkhitarashen Gate. The last three gates played the greatest role in the town's life. Through those passed the commercial caravans, carts, and horsemen, while the other auxiliary gates, through which by short roads connected Varanda's villages with the town, were mostly used by pedestrians. According to our sources, the main gates were so monumental that they gave the impression of triumphal arches. All of them were fastened with thick double ramparts and two mighty towers, and they were ornamented with architectural finishes.

The fortress (as with all other forts in medieval Artsakh) had a secret rock-cut emergency escape passage. Running from the eastern side of the plateau, by the Erevan Gate, through the rock, the secret passage gradually runs downward, then, passing through cave pas-

sages, exits to the deep canyon of the Karin-tak River (or, the *Shushinka*). Only used in time of war, not everyone knew of the passage's location.

The necessity of these fortifications was demonstrated during the siege of Shushi by Muhammad Hasan khan Qajar, a claimant to the Persian throne, in 1753. In 1756 or '59, the fortress was attacked again by the 30,000 troops of Fathali khan Afshar of Urmia. In 1795, Shushi was subjected to a major thirty-three-day attack by 80,000 troops led by Agha Muhammad khan Qajar, son of the Muhammad Hassan khan, who had attacked Shushi in 1753. After a second siege in 1797, Agha Muhammad successfully captured Shushi but was murdered by his retainers a few days later. Finally, during the Russo-Persian War of 1826-1828, the citadel at Shushi (the original fortress around which the town had developed) held out against a Persian siege for several months without capitulating.

Discussing Karabakh and Shushi, the Russian diplomat and historian S. M. Bronevsky indicated in his "Historical Notes" that Karabakh had as many as 30,000 to 40,000 armed Armenian forces in 1796.

At the time Shushi developed into a town, the Russian administration, concerned about the danger of a Persian attack, paid great attention to fortifying its defensive capabilities. The town's strategic significance was reflected in the main plan of its reconstruction still preserved in the central national historical archives. Although the document is not dated, the plan clearly follows defensive considerations more than town-planning, and all the evidence shows that it was drawn up by military engineers in '20's of nineteenth century.

In the defensive system of Shushi a leading role was played from early times by the numerous local caves. The narrow and deep Hunot defile on the southern side of the mesa, through which roars the Karin tak River or, as the Russians called it the *Shushinka*, has high rock cliffs on both sides. In these gigantic "walls" there open like windows, a number of caves such as Hunoti *Karan* (cave of Hunot), Avana *Karan* (cave of Avan), Meliki *Karan*, Alexana Ghuzun *Karan*, Yeghuniki *Karan*, Ilkhhol, and Ameratner.

In time of war, these caves, which had once served as dwellings in the late Stone Age, were still used by the local inhabitants as places of refuge. Hunot cave for some time was occupied by Avan Yüzbashi. Here, in 1966, were found numerous tombstones and khachkars with Armenian inscriptions. One of the tombstones is

dated 1721. Then, during the 1826 Russo-Turkish war, Hunot cave was inhabited by Sapar Yüzbashi Tarkhanian, who, together with his braves, saved Shushi from starvation during its final siege. In this way, these caves were useful well into the nineteenth century and their history has not yet disappeared from local memories and legends.

For the building and architectural development of Shushi, the turning point was the Russian occupation of 1805, when Karabagh accepted Russian rule, which was confirmed by the Russo-Persian treaty of Giulistan of 1813. In 1820, Mesrop Taghiadian, author, educator and publicist, a native of Erevan long settled in India, visited Shushi and from his description we can see that at that time, in place of the former wooden churches, there had been built fine stone structures, as well as two-story private residences, hotels, and many shops, along with, among other buildings, a number of cultural and educational establishments.

After Shushi ceased to be the capital of a khanate, it became the administrative capital first of the Karabakh province (1822–1840) and then of the Shusha (sic) district (*uyezd*) of the Elizavetpol' Governorship (1840–1923). Under Russian rule, the population of Shushi greatly expanded through a new mass immigration, particularly of Armenians, that began from neighboring villages and districts. This influx, described by Azeri historians as the "introduction" of Armenians to a region where they previously did not exist, is gainsaid by all of our literary sources (Armenian, Russian, Persian and even Azeri), as well as by the enormous number of Armenian inscriptions that are found all over Karabagh and the paucity of those in any other language.

According to Mirza Jamal Javanshir, James of Shushi, and later observers, the villagers and smiths, who had migrated from Highland Karabagh, the Mughan steppe, and from the villages of the districts of Siunik and Nakhichevan were transferred to Shushi. These immigrants settled in the fortress-town next to each other according to their original homes and called their new quarters by the names of their previous settlements: Ghazanchetsots, Sahatli, Aguletsots, Seidli, Meghretsots, Kecherli, Gharabaghaians, etc.

In time, Shushi grew to a town of some 40,000 people and as noted above, became the third largest city in South Caucasia, a wealthy community of merchants, manufacturers, and artisans with six churches, many mosques, and a fine theater famous for its excel-

lent productions even of Shakespeare. Unfortunately all this was swept away in a series of three destructions, in 1905, 1920, and 1995, which until a recent burst of rebuilding, left the city a semi-deserted ruin.

David Beg and the Rebellion against Muslim Rule

The Armenians and Georgians had been well informed of Peter's invasion of Caucasia in 1722 and enthusiastically rose to meet the Russian advance. The total melik forces in Karabagh and Siunik are said to have reached some forty thousand men, including an *Armeniansky Eskadron* "Armenian Battalion" organized to meet Peter in Karabagh. Peter, however, left them in the lurch (despite the conclusion of Armen Tigranyan's opera *David Beg* of 1950 in which the Russians are shown as coming to the rescue of the beleaguered Armenians—an event that never took place).

In the same year, 1722, when the Persian khans were distracted by dynastic and other troubles outlined above, Stephen (Stepanos) Shahumyan, a scion of the house of Shahum the Red (*Karmir Shahum*), melik of Chavendur in southern Siunik by the River Arax, applied to King Vakhtang VI of Kartli (1711-1714, 1719-23. k. 1737), for a military leader to defend Yotnaberd ("Seven Castles"), *i.e.* the Ghapan region, against the ongoing depredations of the Muslims. David Beg (Arm. *Dawit-Bek*),⁶⁵ descendant of an ancient Siunian princely family, answered the call, and was sent by King Vakhtang (officially a Persian vassal but in practice virtually autonomous under his Muslim name, Hussein Qoli-khan) to the region with 400 men-at-arms. It was at this juncture that David Beg, becoming generalissimo (*sparapet*) of the melikal forces in Siunik, took control of the situation, and united the meliks of Siunik into a single state known as Ghapan or Kapan.

We know little of the origin and ancestry of David Beg. We do not even know for certain the year of his birth. That he was of a noble family seems clear but of which one we do not know. Possibly he was of a family of large landowners of the kind who would have been called gentry (*azat-s*) in old Armenia. Not much more is known of David's early life beyond the fact that before returning to Armenia to lead the struggle against the Turks and Persians, he had served at the court of King Vakhtang VI undoubtedly in some military capacity.

After early successes in which he quickly routed the Karachorlu and Javanshir nomads and pillaged the Muslim village of Kurtlar, David persuaded various influential local leaders, such as Melik Parsadan of Bekh (a village now a suburb of the town of Kapan) to join the cause. David Beg was probably the most prominent military commander of the Armenian liberation movement in the eighteenth century. In the years from 1722 to 1725, together with the collaboration of his comrade-in-arms Mkhitar sparapet, he led the armed struggle of central and southern Siunik (Ghapan / Kapan) against the forces of Safavid Iran and then, in the years 1726-1728, those of the Ottoman army that had taken advantage of the collapse of the Persian Empire to attempt to conquer the whole of South Caucasia.

Under the leadership of David Beg, and encouraged by the rapid disintegration of Safavid rule, many Armenians took up arms against the Muslims and joined his forces, especially those of Karabagh, where the meliks lent him both men and material. Avan Yüzbashi, who was to become one of David's close collaborators, alone, contributed 2,000 men to David's struggle. During his brief period of rule over the principality of Ghapan, which he had founded, David established his center at the fort of Halidzor, which he had built, and from which he administered justice and distributed lands to his followers taken from the Muslims. Persian armies sent to crush the rebellion were repelled. In 1726-1728, The local Sultan Bathali with increasingly large Muslim armies marched against David, but suffered severe defeats at the hands of their outnumbered foe. David and his allies systematically destroyed the Turkish villages of the districts of Ghapan and Meghri, slaughtering the Muslim population, loading the plunder taken from them on camels and carrying it off.⁶⁶ In 1727, however, the Ottoman army invaded Siunik after wresting Erevan from the Persians the previous year. In the face of this threat, many of David's supporters now prudently slipped away, but, besieged with twelve priests, three bishops, and 300 men in Halidzor castle, he spiritedly resisted an army said to have been 70,000 strong. When the end seemed near, the assembled clergy, and the defenders, after evoking St. Minas, launched a suicidal attack. The Ottoman forces, however, now panicked and fled, leaving (according to the story) 12,000 dead on the field. This miracle persuaded David that God intended him to expel the Ottomans from Ghapan. In pursuit of this goal, he then made an alliance with the Persian armies across the Arax.

Unfortunately, the alliance was short-lived. With new Ottoman armies on the march, David held off the enemy until he was killed (1728) and his principality overwhelmed by the Muslims under Ugherlu khan (1730). Mkhitar Sparapet, David's chief lieutenant and successor as commander-in-chief, was murdered by local villagers, and the Armenian rebellion against the Muslims drew to a close.

The Ottoman Invasion of Caucasia

Taking advantage of the fall of the Safavids and using the Russian threat as an excuse, the Ottoman Turks sent an army into Georgia (1722-1723) simultaneously with the Russian advance. Tiflis surrendered in the summer of 1723, but the Russians got to Baku first. Erevan then fell to the Turks, however, on 7 June 1724, after a three-month siege, whereupon, three days later, the Turks and the Russians entered into negotiations that led to the drawing of the Russo-Turkish "line of demarcation" whereby the two empires divided the provinces of western Iran between them. The Turks received as their share Tabriz, Hamadan, and Kermanshah with all of the lands between these provinces and the former Turkish frontier. The tsar already held as much of his share as Russia would ever acquire; the sultan, however, was forced to go to war to get his portion. Thus, the Turkish forces marched forth in three directions, one toward Tabriz, one through Ghapan, and one into Karabagh by way of Ganje. Hamadan fell to them in 1724. At Tabriz, however, although a Persian force of 10,000 was defeated, the city was not taken until the following year, when it was stormed in a furious assault that left 20,000 Turkish dead and 30,000 Persian.

The Aftermath in Karabagh

The collapse of the principality of Ghapan, the only independent Armenian state between the fall of the Cilician kingdom in 1375 and the emergence of the first Armenian Republic in 1918, was a disaster for the local population, and many of the surviving participants in the revolt were forced to leave Siunik and Karabagh forever. Stephen Shahumian joined his relatives, the merchant family of Saum in Venice, later settling in Smyrna. One of his descendants, Stephen Shaumyan (1878-1918), cited above, founded the first Armenian Marxist circle in 1899. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, he was Lenin's commissar extraordinary for the Caucasus, and was chairman of the Baku Commissariat, while his son, Levon, later served as

a senior editor of the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*. Prince Nubar also left Siunik, becoming a merchant in Smyrna. His grandson, Nubar Pasha Nubarian (1825-1899), migrated to Egypt, where he served three times as prime minister. Nubar's son, Paul (*Boghos*) Nubar Pasha (1851-1930), founded the Armenian General Benevolent Union in Cairo (1906), which eventually became the most important philanthropic organization in the Armenian world. Paul Nubar also led the Western Armenian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

The geste of David Beg had a profound effect on the Armenians of his day and for a long time thereafter. After the final defeat of the forces of Ghapan, there was written in Armenian an historical account of the David's wars entitled *A Select History of Dawit Bek* (though not printed until 1871). Translated into French by M. Brosset (1874), this text was said to have been written at the behest of Stephen Shahumian, who had been one of the collaborators of David Beg's insurrection. The popular Armenian author Raffi (*Yakob Melik-Yagobian*)⁶⁷ wrote a novel on David's exploits (1880-1882) followed by his detailed historical study of the meliks *Khamsayi melikutunnere* (1882, repr. 1906).

The Role of Melik Egan

Melik Egan (*egan* = "sole," "only one," *i.e.* "unique") is described by our author (sections 5-7) as having been born in the village of Ardví in the land of Lori, from the family of the Loris-Melikians (*i.e.* meliks of Lori), and as being the son of the monk Luke (*Ghukas*) *vartabed*, whose birth name was Moses (*Movses*). Having for some reason rebelled against his relative, Elizbar, but unable to defeat him, Egan left Lori, together with his father, and migrated to Dizak in southern Karabagh, where they settled in the village of Togh. This is the family tradition in Dizak, still being told there when this editor visited Togh in 1998. As to who owned Dizak prior to Egan's arrival, it appears that it had previously formed a part of the district of Varanda to the north and thus had been a part of the Shahnazarian lands.

According to P. Arutyunyan, Dizak was a new melikate founded by Egan, son of Luke vardapet. The ancestry of this Egan, then, would form a part of the genealogy of the Loris-Melikians. In some sources, however, it is indicated that the family of Melik Egan moved to Dizak from Persia. More reliable data are found in the work of Mirza Adigözel-beg,⁶⁸ where we are told that the meliks of

Dizak were named Melik-Egan and were refugees from Lori. In Dizak, they were said to have been granted the rank of *melik* by royal decree during the reign of Nadir-shah. Nadir-shah, we are told, appointed Melik Egan in charge of the other meliks of Karabagh and thus, on occasion, gave him authority over the entire *Khamsa* federation. In turn, the melik of Dizak provided the shah's military forces with arms and supplies during their campaigns into southeast Caucasus and Daghestan.⁶⁹

Melik Egan was a colorful figure and many stories are told of him. During Nadir's reign he became the most respected and the senior among the meliks of Karabagh, and, because of his fairness and justice, was often granted the authority of a provincial governor. In time Melik Egan was so greatly respected by the shah, and held in a special regard, that he was called the shah's "*babalik*," (Tk. "little father). Egan's activities extended beyond the area of Karabagh proper. In 1743, at the monastery of Tatew in Siunik / Zangezur, he had a *gawit* (narthex or vestibule) erected at the church of St. Astvat-satsin.

Melik Egan died in 1744 and was buried with his father Luke vardapet (d. 1716) in a now destroyed mausoleum of the Avaniants family to the southwest of the church of St. John [*S. Ohanes*] in the village of Togh. In the same mausoleum were later buried Egan's son, Melik Aram (1745), his nephews Isaiah [*Esayum*] (1781) and Bakhtam (undated), and another relative, Baghrbek (1789). In the church, itself, Egan and his family have been immortalized in two inscriptions that read: 1) "In 1736, the upper part of this church of St. John has been restored by Melik Ekan (*sic*), son of vardapet Luke [*Ghukas*]. 2) "This khachkar is in memory of Melik Ekan (*sic*) and my parents Moses Luke vardapet, his mother Grace [*Shnor*] [and my mother?] (*Mariam*); my brother Aram, my sister khanum, her husband, the son[s] of Aram: Isasiah [*Esayum*], Paghtam, [and] Vert; [and] my daughter[s] Tavar, khanpach, [and] Khatum Khatay [*Lady Kate*, i.e. Katranide/Catherine]. [Dated] In 1658 [read 1758]."⁷⁰

The Reign of Nadir Shah and the Era of Civil Wars

During the Afghan interlude (1722-1729), the last Safavid shah, Tahmasp II, had taken refuge in the south Caspian coastal province of Mazandaran, where, with the aid of a superb general, Nadir qoli, (later Nadir Shah)⁷¹ he conquered Khorasan, defeated the Afghans, and retook Isfahan (1729). An excellent military leader and the last

great Asiatic conqueror (until perhaps Mao Tse Tung), Nadir routed the Afghans for all time in 1730, recovered Persian Azerbaijan and Iraq from the Turks, and was besieging Erevan when a revolt in Khorasan drew his attention toward the east. While he was occupied, Shah Tahmasp II (1722-1732) attempted a Turkish campaign on his own and was roundly defeated. This led to his overthrow in 1732, whereupon Nadir took control of Persia.

After an initial defeat by the Turks, Nadir quickly triumphed over them, recovering Tiflis, Ganje, and Erevan. Meanwhile, the Russians, appalled at the death of some 15,000 troops each year from fever in the Caspian lowlands, ceded the coastal provinces back to Persia by the treaty of Rasht in 1732. By threatening to aid the Turks on the eve of a new Russo-Turkish war in 1735, Nadir was able to bully the Russians into ceding Derbent and Baku as well. The following year, Nadir was crowned shah in an elaborate ceremony at a great tent city erected in the plain of Mughan, an event described in detail by the Armenian Catholicos Abraham of Crete (1734-1737), one of the dignitaries invited to the proceedings.⁷² Nadir Shah was now at the height of his power and glory, possessing an empire that stretched from the river Kur to the Indus and from Lake Aral in Central Asia to the Persian Gulf.

But though a great warrior, Nadir lacked administrative capabilities. Assassinated because of his cruelties in 1747, his death led to fifty years of civil war and anarchy in Iran, after which the country was never again to be a great power. Nadir's death had serious repercussions in Georgia, too, where King Heracles (*Geo. Irakli*, 1762-1798), had been an ardent supporter of Nadir and upon his death had annexed Persian Armenia as far as the Arax. King of Kartli and Kakheti as a result of the merger of the two kingdoms in 1762, Heracles was now forced to protect himself against the strife in Iran by signing the fateful treaty of Georgievsk in 1783, by which Georgia became a Russian protectorate.

The Emergence of the Autonomous khanates

Safavid rule in southeast Caucasia had been managed through the establishment of several provinces known as "khanates"⁷³ each under the authority of a Muslim khan. The khans, as the rulers of these principalities were called, held a title that had once belonged to the Mongol "world conqueror" Genghis in the thirteenth century and had once been the equivalent of "emperor." By this period, however, the

title had become much debased. Under the Safavids, Persian khans were originally governors appointed by the shah, who enjoyed broad freedom of action within their jurisdictions. Eventually, however, the khans became hereditary and were more like quasi-independent princes.

While the Armenians retained control of the highlands of Karabagh, the Muslims, mainly Turkish in origin, gradually extended their control—partly through conquest and partly through ethnic, religious and cultural assimilation—over the lowland areas from the eastern frontiers of Georgia as far east as the Caspian Sea. Ten of the khanates described below—Erevan, Nakhichevan, Karabagh, Ganje, Shaki, Shirvan, Darband, Quba, Baku, and Talesh—minted their own coins, as did, of course, the Georgian kingdom of Kartli-Kakheti, a marked distinction in the Islamic world. The following were the most important of these statelets for the period (post-1747) with which Archbishop Sergius is concerned:

1. The khanate of Iravan or Chukhur Saad

The khanate of Erevan (Per. *Iravan*)⁷⁴ began as a jurisdiction in the time of Timur (Tamerlane, 1335-1405), when a certain Amir-Saad became governor of the area, whence its name Chukhur-Saad (Arm. *Sahata Pos* “Valley of Saad”). In 1604, the territory was organized as a khanate or “governorship” by Shah Abbas I (1571-1629) and, after Karabagh and Shirvan, remained the third largest such jurisdiction in Caucasia until the Russian conquest (1827), and the only one that had not become hereditary.

This particular khanate was always governed by an appointed khan, or *sardar*, who presided over its fifteen districts or *mahal-s*. Each mahal with a significant Armenian population had a local melik as a hereditary chief over the local Armenians under the overall jurisdiction of the Melik-Aghamaliants ethnarchs of Erevan city, and of the khan above them. The economy of the khanate was based on agriculture and the breeding of cattle, sheep, and goats. Commerce, however, was brisk in Chukhur-Saad and of international consequence, the khanate trading with Persia, Turkey, and Russia, exporting cotton, wool, hides, and dried fruit in return for manufactured goods and textiles, especially those from Western Europe. Industry was practiced locally but in the traditional way, everything being made by hand for sale in the bazaars.

The Muslims of the khanate consisted of (1) Persians, largely settled in the capital; (2) Ta(r)tars (Azeri Turks), both settled and semi-nomadic; and (3) Kurds (Sunni, Shi'ia, and Yezidi), who were almost completely nomadic. Tatars and Kurds tended to consist of various clans, with the Tatar tribes inclined to merge into larger nomadic confederations. The nomadic herders provided much of the meat and dairy products of the khanate and were a source of troops in time of war. Bournoutian⁷⁵ estimates the Muslim population, settled and semi-settled, at about 62,000, and the nomadic Kurds at about 25,000. The Armenians formed less than 20% of the population (about 15,000), for a total population of about 102,000.

The Armenian minority in the Erevan khanate suffered greatly under Muslim rule, but, as Bournoutian has shown, under the final khan, the elderly but conscientious and capable Hosein qoli khan Qajar (1807-1827), the Persians undertook a policy of benevolence towards the khanate. They worked to mend fences with their Christian subjects and to introduce some measure of good government to secure the support of the local population, Christian and Muslim alike, against the encroachments of Russian expansionism.⁷⁶

2. The khanate of Shaki

*Shaki, Shekki, Sheki or Shakin*⁷⁷ was a Muslim principality founded in 1743 by a certain *Haji Chelebi*, the grandson of an Armenian convert to Islam, who had been the scion of the Hasan-Jalaliants meliks of Khachen. It was Chelebi's grandson, Huseyn, who built the extraordinary summer palace in his capital at the town of Shaki, that has been carefully preserved until the present time.

Little is known of the early history of the town of Shaki (Arm. *Shake*), which lies 250k (155mi.) northwest of Baku on the forested slopes of the Caucasus foothills along the left bank of the river Kish. Its name is said to be related to that of the Saka, the Persian name for the Scythians and, given the location of Shaki on the silk route between Tiflis and Derbent on the Caspian coast, this is entirely possible. Shaki reached its height as a commercial center in the mid-eighteenth century, when the foreign trade attracted by its silk industry made it rich; its vast caravansaries, built at this time, may still be seen. After a serious flood in 1772, the town was moved to a nearby site higher up a hill close to the village of Nukhi (Russ. *Nukha*), which became an alternative name for the city. Here, in the new capital, the reigning khan built a fortress complex called *Gelesen-*

Gerersen along with a splendid palace (1797). In 1819, the new city was renamed *Nukha* by the Russians but reverted to its original name in 1960.

The khanate of Shaki had been for long a dependency of the khanate of Quba but in 1806 was incorporated into the Russian Empire. In 1819, the khanate, itself, was abolished.

3. *The khanate of Shirvan*

The Shirvan state⁷⁸ was founded in 1748 with its capital at the town of Shemakhi (Russ. *Shemakha*) located 120km (70mi) west of Baku. Taken and destroyed by Nadir Shah in 1742, the population was relocated to a new town under the same name about sixteen miles to the west on the Ak-su River flowing south to the River Kur from the foot of the main chain of the Caucasus. The new Shemakha was a residence of the first independent khan of Shirvan (1748-1765) Haji Muhammed Ali khan. But the smaller or Old Shamakhi khanate continued to exist under the brothers Muhammad Said khan and Aghasi khan (1748-1786) until the two killed Haji Muhammed Ali khan and united the two states.

After the merger of the two khanates, the site of the new Shamakhi was abandoned in 1786, and the old town rebuilt. During the period 1768-1789 Shirvan was occupied by the much stronger khanate of Quba, and Aghasi khan was exiled. Kasim khan, the son of Muhammed Seid khan, managed to win back the khanate from the Quba-appointed Asker khan in 1789, but Asker was replaced by Mustafa khan, a son of Aghasi khan. In 1795 the Russians captured Shemakhi as well as Baku; but the conquests were once more abandoned and Shirvan was not finally annexed by Russia until 1805. Mustafa khan continued to rule, however, until 1820, when the khanate was finally suppressed.

The city of Shamakhi is probably to be identified with the *Mamechia* (*sic*, read: **Samachia*) of the ancient Greek geographer Claudius Ptolemy,⁷⁹ who flourished in the second century CE, and with the *Lupnats Kaghak* “[Capital] City of the Lupenians” of Armenian sources.⁸⁰ An important town during the Middle Ages, Shamakhi served as the capital of the Shirvanshah state in the eighth to fifteenth centuries, and then as the capital of the independent Shirvan khanate, also known as the “khanate of Shemakha.” In the middle of the sixteenth century the town was the seat of an English commercial factory, under the traveler Anthony Jenkinson, who af-

terwards served as ambassador of the Persian shah to Tsar Ivan IV the Terrible (1533-1584). During this time, the town was visited by a number of travelers who remarked on its prominent Armenian population although the majority of the inhabitants were Turkish-speaking Muslims albeit of different ethnicities.

The Russians first entered Shirvan in 1723 (at which time the population of Shemakhi was about 60,000, most of whom were Armenians and other foreigners),⁸¹ but soon withdrew leaving it to the Ottomans who held it for a dozen years (1723-35).

According to the official returns of a census taken by the Russians in 1831,⁸² the number of males belonging to the Mohammedan population was 62,934; Armenians, 6,375; and Jews, 332; a total of 69,641 males. The same source also states that as a result of devastation during the recent wars, the city was inhabited by only 2,233 families (*ca.* 10,000 people). According to the Brockhaus and Efron *Encyclopedic Dictionary*, Shamakhi had 20,008 inhabitants (10,450 males and 9,558 females); of them Russians formed 3%, Armenians 18%, and Tatars (Azeri Turks) 79%.⁸³

Shemakhi sits within a notorious earthquake zone and eleven major tremors have reduced the city to ruin, but each time it was reconstructed by its inhabitants due to its role as economic and administrative capital of Shirvan and one of the key towns on the Silk Road. Thus, the only building to have survived eight of the eleven earthquakes is the landmark tenth century Juma Mosque, which, as the chief Muslim center of worship, was always restored.

4. The khanate of Ganje

The Ganje khanate⁸⁴ was a Muslim principality under Shahverdi khan (1740-1761), which became semi-independent of Iran after the death of Nadir Shah though it was still largely under Persian domination until annexed by Russia in 1805. The khanate, bordered by Shaki, Erevan, and Karabagh, was ruled by the dynasty of Ziadogly, which was of Qajar descent and had administered Ganje as governors under Nadir Shah.

In 1781-84, Ganje was ruled by the Karabagh khan Ibrahim-Khalil khan Jevanshir, son of the redoubtable Panah Ali khan Qajar. During the government of Javad khan (1785-1804), the Ganje khanate grew in economic and political importance carrying out an independent foreign policy, sometimes contrary to the policy of its sup-

posed Persian overlords. The khans, moreover, maintained their own mint.

The capital of the Ganje khanate was the city of the same name (Arm. *Gandzak*) said to have been founded in 859 / 860 by Mohammad ibn Khaled, the Arab governor of the region at that time. This Arab foundation (*ca.* 842) is confirmed by MD/K (III.20), who adds that the district in which the city was located was called Arshakashen, a division of the principality of Utik, which, itself, lay in the country of Aghuank known to the Arabs as *al-Ran* (>*Arran*). Different explanations have been given for the city's name, the one most widely accepted deriving it from the Persian '*gandz*' meaning 'treasury'. Its Persian name, moreover, suggests that the town was founded on the site of an earlier pre-Arab locality, probably a mere village at the time.

The city of Ganje undoubtedly profited from the destruction of the Aghuan capital of Barda (Arm. *Partaw*) by Russian pirates in 944, and again from the sacking of Baylakan by the Mongols in 1239. Both had been major emporia between the Rivers Arax and Kur, and now Ganje, together with Shamkhor, took their place. Later, the rise of Shushi would take the place of Baylakan. Ganje had been a part of the Seljuk Empire and had then passed to the atabegs of Azerbaijan. The region surrounding the city was subjected to severe earthquakes in 1139 and 1231, but the city revived in the sixteenth century under Safavid rule, when it was the capital of the Karabagh *beylerbeylik* (major province).

Under the rule of Shah Abbas the Great (1588-1629), Ganje was briefly known as *Abbasabad*. Eventually, the city and its province passed to the Ziyadoglu or Ziadogly, a dynasty of Qajar origin, which had ruled Ganje as governors under Nadir Shah. After his death, however, Ganje became the center of an independent khanate (1747-1805) though still subject to the domination of the Persians whenever the latter were able to enforce their authority.

Apart from Persian- and Turkic-speaking Muslims, the city of Ganje had a numerically, economically and culturally significant Armenian community in the past. The great Persian poet, Nizami (1141-1203), was born here and the thirteenth century Armenian historian, Cyriacus (*Kirakos*) of Gandzak as well.

5. The khanate of Nakhichevan

The territory of Nakhichevan,⁸⁵ cut off from the rest of Armenia on the north and east by mountains and on the west and south by the Arax River, was originally a part of the province of Chokhur Saad embracing Erevan, but later became a separate khanate, when, in 1604, Shah Abbas I appointed Maksud Sultan, chieftain of the Kangarlu, a local Turkic tribe, as its governor. Persian rule was interrupted by Ottoman occupation between 1635-1636 and 1722-1736.

The prosperity of the khanate was based on agriculture and herding but especially on the transit trade between Tabriz and Erevan that passed directly through Nakhichevan city as well as through smaller but equally prosperous commercial centers such as Julfa on the Arax, and Aqolis and Giran to the north of it, the last destroyed some time in the sixteenth century.

In 1808, during the Russo-Persian War of 1804-1813, forces under general Gudovich briefly occupied Nakhichevan, but as a result of the treaty of Gulistan it was returned to Persian control.

In 1827, during the last Russo-Persian War (1826-1828), Abbas Mirza appointed Ehsan khan Kangarlu commander of Abbasabad, a fortress on the Arax designed to protect Nakhichevan. After heavy losses in an attempt to take the fortress by scaling the walls on July 14, the Russians mounted a siege upon which Ehsan khan secretly contacted the Russian commander, General Paskievich, and opened the gates of the fortress to him (22 July 1827). With the treaty of Turkmenchay (1828), the khanate became a Russian possession and Ehsan khan was granted the rank of major general in the Russian army, the title of campaign ataman of the Kangarlu militia, and rewarded with the governorship. In 1828, the khanates of Irivan and Nakhichevan were dissolved, however and their territories merged to form the short-lived *Armianskaia Oblast* ("Armenian Province").

6. The khanate of Baku

Baku (*Baqy, Baky, Baki*) was the smallest and the least typical of the southeast Caucasian khanates⁸⁶ consisting of the small port of Baku and some thirty villages lying on the arid Apsheron Peninsula. Originally part of Shirvan, it became a separate khanate in the seventeenth century during the Ottoman occupation of the latter. Although there were Armenians in the city, itself, there were none in the local villages.

7. *The khanate of Quba*

Quba, Kuba or Qobbeh⁸⁷ was for a time one of the very wealthiest and most powerful of the Muslim khanates of southeast Caucasia. It comprised the city of Quba located on the road between Baku and Darband somewhat inland from the Caspian coast, and included ca. 250 villages. At its height, Quba dominated the khanate of Shirvan and Baku as well as the tiny sultanate of Elisu. The city of Quba had a highly mixed population of Sunni Muslims of the Shahsevan tribe with Shi'a Muslims, Armenian, and Jewish minorities, the last probably from the Jewsih Tat tribe of the eastern Caucasus.

8. *The khanate of Darband*

Darband (Russ.: *Derbent*)⁸⁸ was yet another khanate that emerged after the death of Nadir Shah in 1747. Founded by Muhammad Hussein khan (1747-1759), it was annexed by the khanate of Quba in 1759, which held it until the Russian occupation in 1806. It was centered at the heavily fortified port of Derbent on the Caucasian coast of the Caspian Sea, where a 40m (64.37k/40m.) rampart ran inland, westward from the citadel to block any means of bypassing the fortress through the passes of the eastern end of the Caucasus Mountains.

There were a number of lesser khanates besides the ones just described but these played no role in the wars described by Archbishop Sergius.⁸⁹

Once they became independent or at least highly autonomous, these khanates of southeastern Caucasia undertook a lively interaction between themselves in every sphere—trade, dynastic marriages, military alliances, and battlefield encounters—but also between themselves and the Turks, Persians, and Russians, as well as between themselves and the Armenian melikdoms of Karabagh. A characteristic of these interactions, including military and matrimonial alliances, was an almost total disregard for religious and ethnic differences between the participants, meliks allying themselves with khans, Armenians with Turks, and Christians with Muslims. *Realpolitik*, it would appear, took precedence over all other considerations. It was the emergence of these independent or semi-independent khanates that led a certain Turkic Muslim by the name of Panah Ali Javanshir to conceive of founding a khanate of his own carved from the lands of the Armenian meliks of Karabagh and on occasion with their aid.

The Rise of Panah Ali

Panah Ali khan Javanshir (1693-1747)⁹⁰ is one of the most significant figures cited by our author. Born in Sarijali in the southern part of the Ganje khanate, he became the founder and first ruler of the khanate of Karabagh. Initially under nominal Persian suzerainty, the khanate was by 1748 an independent feudal state in Lowland Karabagh and the adjacent areas that lasted until 1822.

The territory of Lowland Karabagh was originally a feudal mulk (landholding) given by Shah Abbas I to the Ziyadoglu family in 1606, a house related to the Turkic-speaking clan of the Qajars, who in 1794 became shahs of Iran ruling until 1925. As rulers of the Ganje khanate the Ziyadoglu Qajars extended their power to Lowland Karabagh. Following the collapse of the Safavid dynasty in 1722 and the death of Nadir Shah Afshar in 1747, the Safavid domain split into several independent khanates. Looking upon the Christian enclave of Highland Karabagh as an anomaly among the various Muslim khanates that surrounded it, a certain adventurer, Panah Ali Javanshir, a Turkic Muslim,⁹² founded his own khanate, which remained under nominal Persian suzerainty⁹³ but was a *de facto* independent feudal state in Karabagh and adjacent areas until 1805.

Panah Ali was from the Sarijali branch of the Azeri Turkish clan of Javanshir, who with its associate clan of Otuz-Iki ("The Thirty-two" in Azeri) had for long been rivals of the Yirmi-Dört (The Twenty-four) and the Ziyadoglu Qajars of Ganje, whose chiefs had been official rulers of lowland Karabagh since Safavid times⁹⁴ whereas the Armenian meliks had always held sway in the mountains of Highland Karabagh. During the mid-eighteenth century, Panah consolidated his power by establishing his own *de facto* independent khanate becoming, thereafter Panah-Ali *khan* Javanshir.

Panah Ali's paternal great-grandfather and namesake, Panah Ali bey, served at the court of the Ganje *beylerbey-s* (governors) in the early seventeenth century, when the Safavid Empire directly controlled the region. He soon retired, married a woman from the Javanshir, a Muslim clan of Lowland Karabagh, and had a son by the name of Ali (nicknamed *Sarija* Ali). The family then lived on its estate in the district of Arasbar, now the Khojavend and Agdam districts (*raion-s*) of the Azerbaijani Republic, but also owned land in the town of Tartar along the lower course of the river of that name near the eastern limits of Highland Karabagh, and also along the

northern banks of the Arax River. The Arasbar estate was rebuilt as a castle in the time of Sarija Ali's son, Ibrahim Khalil, and was known as "Ibrahim Khalil Castle" (*Galasi*) ever after.⁹⁵

After the termination of the Safavid dynasty by Nadir Shah in 1736, the Muslim landed gentry of Ganje and Karabagh, the Javan-shir among them, gathered in the plain of Mughan deciding to oppose the usurper's reign. There they agreed to try to restore the Safavids to the throne. When this news reached Nadir, he ordered all Muslim landowners of the region and their families deported to Khorasan in northeastern Iran as punishment. The future khan, Panah Ali, was among the deportees.

In 1747, Panah Ali, by then already a successful *naib* (representative of the shah) and a royal major domo, found himself displeased with Nadir Shah's attitude toward him and, having gathered many of those Muslim notables deported from Karabagh in 1736, returned to his homeland. Due to his reputation as a skillful warrior and to his wealthy ancestor's legacy in Karabagh, Panah Ali proclaimed himself an autonomous governor (khan) and was soon recognized as such by the Muslims throughout most of the region. The shah sent troops to bring the runaway back but the order was never fulfilled. Nadir Shah himself was killed in Khorasan in June of 1747, and the new ruler of Persia, Adil Shah, needing peace in Karabagh to consolidate his hold on Persia, issued a *firman* (decree) recognizing Panah Ali as the khan of Karabagh.⁹⁶

The khanate of Karabagh

The original khanate of Karabagh included the area between the juncture of the rivers Kur and Arax (Lowland Karabagh), a plain largely inhabited by a Turkish speaking population of livestock herders but Panah had designs on the upland regions (Highland Karabagh), inhabited by Armenian peasants and herders living under the rule of Armenian meliks many of the latter being descendants of the Armenian and Aghuan royal and princely houses of old. The original center of the khanate ("capital" is too grandiose a term) was the Bayad fortress, built in 1748 to strengthen Panah Ali's power in Karabagh, and which became his first residence.

The growing strength of the power of Panah Ali khan aroused the resistance of other khans of southeast Caucasia. The struggle between the Karabagh khan and Haji Chelebi, khan of Shaki, one of the most powerful feudal rulers of the region, began almost at once in

1748. Haji Chelebi khan, wishing to halt the growth of Panah Ali khan's power, allied with the khan of Shirvan and together they surrounded Panah's seat at Bayad. For an entire month, the allies unsuccessfully tried to capture the fortress. The Shaki and Shirvan khans were forced to withdraw, however, having incurred huge casualties and failing to accomplish their goals. Later Haji Chelebi was forced to admit: "Until now Panah khan was raw silver that had not been minted. We came, minted it, and returned."⁹⁷ A variant of the same quote from another Karabagh historian of the nineteenth century, Mirza Yusif, reads: "Until now Panah khan was merely gold, we came and minted a coin from that gold."⁹⁸ In other words, Panah Ali was a nobody but became a force to be reckoned with as a result of Haji Chelebi's failed campaign against him.

The “Founding” of Panahabad

As mentioned above, the center of the Karabagh khanate was at first the castle of Bayad but this was soon transferred to Shushi. Pompously renamed "Panahabad," this was the fortress newly renovated by Panah in the years 1750-1752. Excavations in 1981, however, have shown that Shushi existed centuries before its fortress was expanded by Panah khan, the readily defended site atop a bi-level mesa overlooking the River Gargar being a natural location for a community in an area of continual invasions and local wars.

The earliest of five khachkars found is dated 971 CE and another mentions Prince Hasan-Jalal-Dola, who flourished in the thirteenth century. Two single-span bridges over the Gargar River dating, respectively, from the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries indicate a lively traffic being carried from Siunik across the river to the Khachen valley and on to Tsar and the southern basin of Lake Sevan. Around or near the base of the Shushi mesa lie a number of villages (Shosh, Karin-tak, Hunot, etc.) many of them containing churches, ruins, cemeteries, and other remains reflecting the prosperity of earlier times. The most important of these habitations is the large village of Shosh lying on a mountain slope to the north of the Shushi mesa. Through this village, via the village of Vararakn (after 1847, *Khankendi*; since 1923, *Stepanakert*), passed the only road taking one from Shushi to the Varanda valley. The mesa was also riddled with caves (*Hunoti-Karan*, *Avana-Karan*, *Alexana Ghuzun*, *Yeghuniki-Karan* and *Ameratner*), used for both habitation and defense.

Shushi as Capital of Karabagh

Although Panah Ali khan took credit for the founding of Panahabad/Shushi, the fact is that the fortress dates from before his time and was probably founded by Avan Yüzbashi prior to the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁰ The ramparts of the fortress, as reconstructed by Panah, were built of adobe but strengthened by no fewer than fifty towers. The ramparts were over 2.5 km (1.55 mi) long beginning at the high rock on the southwestern side of the mountain-plateau and climbing by steep branches and cliffs they encircled the citadel from the west, then continued down by way of a slope, turned west and ended in a rock. The eastern and western sides of Shushi were thus partly protected by large natural stone ramparts.

Panah Ali khan expanded the territory of the Karabagh khanate subjugating the territory of Meghri, Tatev, Karakilise, Ghapan or Kafan in Zangezur, and the Nakhichevan khanate. Less than a year after the fortress of Shushi was refounded, Muhammed Hasan khan Qajar, who, as one of the major claimants to the Iranian throne, considered Karabagh his hereditary estate, attacked the Karabagh khanate. Muhammed Hasan besieged Panahabad, but soon had to retreat because of the attack on his khanate by Karim khan Zand one of his major opponents to his occupation of the Iranian throne. His retreat was so hasty that he even left his cannons under the walls of Shusha fortress. Panah Ali counterattacked the retreating troops of Muhammad Hasan across the Arax River and even briefly took the large city of Ardabil in Iranian Azerbaijan.

In 1759, Shushi and the Karabagh khanate underwent a new attack from Fathali Afshar, khan of Urmia. With his 30,000-strong army Fathali khan also managed to gain support from the meliks of Jraberd and Talish (*Giulistan*), although Melik Shahnazir of Varanda continued to support Panah Ali khan. The siege of Shushi lasted for six months but Fatali eventually had to retreat.

In 1761, Karim khan Zand allied with Panah Ali to defeat Fathali khan Afshar of Urmia, who had earlier subordinated the khanates of Karadagh (not to be confused with Karabagh), Marageh, and Tabriz. In 1762, during his war with Kazem khan of Karadagh, Panah Ali khan submitted to Karim khan Zand, who was consolidating different khans under his rule and was about to besiege Urmia. After the fall of the town, Karim took Panah Ali khan among the hostages to Shiraz, where Panah soon died. Panah-Ali khan's son Ibrahim-Khalil was sent back to Karabagh as governor.

Under Panah's son and successor, Ibrahim-Khalil khan Javanshir (r. ca. 1762-1806), the Karabagh khanate became one of the strongest political formations in South Caucasia. Under his rule, Panahabad grew into a large though ramshackle town, soon becoming known as Shushi, apparently after the name of the nearest village, Shosh (Tk: *Shushikend*). For a long time, the town had a wretched appearance,⁹⁹ its houses being shacks built of wood or adobe, its churches built of wood and its mosques of reeds. The earliest inhabitants of the town were villagers and craftsmen drawn from all over Karabagh and from as far away as Siunik, Nakhichevan, and the Mughan Steppe. According to travelers who visited Shushi at the end of 18th-early 19th centuries, the town had about 2,000 houses and an approximate population of 10,000, which was mostly Muslim. Only after the coming of the Russians did the settlement begin to take the form of a substantial community, with two-story houses, stone churches, barracks, workshops, retail shops, printing houses, bath-houses, a water supply, and eventually sewers, schools, hotels, a library, a municipal park, and a Swiss Protestant mission station (1823-1835). In 1847, Shushi was given the official status as a town and by the First World War it was one of the most important cities in what the Russians called *Transcaucasia* with a distinctive architectural style of its own and a rich cultural life, including, in time, an Armenian theater where performances of Shakespeare and other playwrights were presented.

The Career of Joseph Emin

Meanwhile, the struggle for Armenian emancipation went on, the new inspirational leader being Joseph Emin (1728-1809),¹⁰⁰ an Armenian of Hamadan in Persia, who had settled in India, encountered the British there, and had joined their army to learn their methods of warfare. Traveling to England, Emin became a friend of the duke of Cumberland and of the statesman Edmund Burke. He then spent years in Russia, as well as in Georgia and Armenia attempting to organize a joint movement for the liberation of both. Eventually, discouraged by the lack of cooperation among the meliks, Emin returned to India. His memoirs in English were published in London in 1792 and reprinted in Calcutta in 1918.

The disunity that had disenchanted Emin was unfortunately very real. Greater personal success followed those Karabagh Armenians who entered the Russian service as military officers, such as Avan-khan Yüzbashi (d. 1735) and Valerian Madatov (1783-1829),¹⁰¹ or

those who found their way to Europe, such as a certain Prince Harutiun of an unknown family of Karabagh, who, early in the eighteenth century, founded the house of the Barons von Aretin (*Harutyunian*) in Bavaria.¹⁰²

The Russian Expansion into Caucasia

The Russian occupation of the Caspian shore during Peter the Great's invasion of the Persian Empire in 1722 may have been short-lived, but from then on it was clear to both the Georgians and Armenians that there was a new power to be reckoned with in the East on a par with Turkey and Iran, and a Christian state into the bargain. Thereafter, delegations and embassies were exchanged not only between Moscow and the various Georgian courts, but also, as we have already seen, between the Russians, both Armenian catholicoi, and the meliks of Karabagh.

In the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the advisers of the empress Anne (1730–1740) brought the settlements of the Cossacks in the North Caucasian steppes under official control and gradually forged them into a powerful tool for the advancement of Russian imperialism in the area. The construction of the so-called Cossack lines, a system of military settlements called *stanitsy* “stations,” linked by forts and marking the current limits of Cossack settlement, was begun in 1735–1739 with the erection of Russian fortifications along the Terek River. Kizliar, its fortress founded in 1736, was the earliest of these, but in the years 1763–1769 the lines were extended to Mozdok (founded 1759) and, with the construction of Stavropol’ (1777–1780), to the Sea of Azov. All of these settlements soon grew into towns with significant Armenian populations.

From these lines, the Russians were able to maintain continual contact with the mountain chieftains and with the Georgian kingdoms, forging alliances of one kind or another with many of them. Then, in 1785, the construction of a fortress on the site of the Ossetian village of Zalukh on the upper reaches of the Terek called *Vladet' Kavkazom* “to hold the Caucasus” (known to the natives as *Terek Kale* “Terek Castle” or *Kapu Kaya* “Gate to the Rocks,” and later renamed Vladikavkaz “Ruler of Caucasia”), guaranteed Russian access to the Darial Pass through which the so-called Georgian Military Highway (*Voiенно-Грузинская Дорога*) was constructed (1799–1817) running south from Vladikavkaz toward Tiflis. After 1785, this system of fortifications, by then known simply as “the

Caucasian Line," was divided into left, center, and right flanks, after which the "Black Sea Cordon Line," extending from Ust-Labinskaia to the mouth of the Kuban River, was added to it. In 1817–1823 the system was advanced further to the south by the construction of several advance fortifications—Groznaia, Vnezapnaia, Burnaia, and Temir-khan-Shura—the center of the line thus being extended south to the upper courses of the rivers Kuban and Malka.

During the course of the Russo-Turkish war of 1769–1774, the Russian armies crossed the Caucasus for the second time, occupied the Imeretian capital of Kutaisi, and laid siege to the Ottoman fortress at Poti on the Black Sea coast.

By the treaty of Küchük Kainarji (1774), not only did Kabarda and Ossetia in North Caucasia come under direct Russian control, but the khanate of the Crimea became a Russian vassal state as well. Tracing itself back to the great days of the Golden Horde and through it to Genghis (Chinghiz) khan, and previously secure in the protection of its overlord, the sultan of Turkey, this khanate, without its Ottoman protection was simply annexed by Catherine the Great in 1783. Shortly thereafter, its Greek and Armenian subjects were transferred by the Russian government to new homes in Ukraine, the Greeks being settled at Mariupol' on the Sea of Azov, the Gregorian Armenians at Grigoriopol' and at New Nakhichevan near Rostov, and the Catholic Armenians at another new town called after the empress, Ekaterinoslavl'.

In 1786, the shamkhal (chieftain) of Tarku accepted Russian suzerainty, and shortly thereafter, the khan of Mekhtuli in the mountains of northeast Caucasia (Daghestan) did likewise. In 1803, it was the turn of the khan of Avaria, the most important state in Daghestan, to do the same. Seeing the opportunities presented by the disintegration of Persia and the quarrels of the mountain tribes, General Zubov occupied Darband (Russ. *Derbent*) in 1806, and the Russians gradually forced the rulers of Tabasaran and the other local khanates and free tribes to accept tsarist rule, the free communities of Akusha, Sirurghin, Rutul, and Qubachi, for example, doing so in 1819. Faced with the Russian artillery—something that had never been seen in the mountains before—the Caucasian chieftains could only submit, and, once having done so, any who rebelled would be accused of treachery and have their lands seized outright.

The Attack of Agha Muhammad khan Qajar

In the summer of 1795, the new master of Persia, the eunuch Agha Muhammad khan Qajar (1794-1797),¹⁰³ son of the Muhammad Hasan khan, who had attacked Shushi in 1752, marched on Georgia from Ardabil with a force of 60,000 men to reclaim the lost Persian provinces in South Caucasia. One division he sent to Shirvan via the Mughan Plain; a second he sent to attack the fortress of Shushi; the third he took to Erevan, where the city was guarded by 15,000 Georgian troops.

Agha Muhammad's goal was to end the feudal fragmentation in Iran and to restore the early imperial Safavid domain. For this purpose he needed to proclaim himself shah of Iran. However, according to Safavid tradition, the would-be shah had first to assert his control over South Caucasia before his coronation. Therefore, the Karabagh khanate and its fortified capital Shushi were the first and major obstacles to the achievement of these ends.

About to undergo a serious assault, Ibrahim Khalil khan, son of Panah Ali, mobilized the population of Shushi for a long-term defense. The number of militia in Shushi reached 15,000 and women are said to have fought alongside the men. The Armenian population of Karabagh also actively participated in the struggle against the invaders and fought side by side with the local Muslims, jointly organizing ambushes in the mountains and forests. The siege lasted for thirty-three days. Unable to take either Shushi or Erevan, Agha Muhammad marched to Ganje. There he met the Persian division from Mughan, defeated the Georgians, and advanced to Tiflis, which, despite desperate resistance, was occupied (1795) and forced to endure its fortieth sack since its founding, an event vividly described by Archbishop Sergius, the author of our text. Muhammad slaughtered many of its inhabitants (including the famed Armenian troubadour Sayat Nova), burnt the city, and deported 20,000 people to Iran.

The following year, Agha Muhammad had himself crowned shah, thus founding the Qajar dynasty that would rule Iran until 1925. This, however, coincided with a Russian invasion ordered by Catherine the Great whose commander, Valerian Zubov, with a force of 40,000 men, took Darband and Baku and camped his troops in the Mughan Plain. Upon Catherine's sudden death (1796), however, her son Paul (1796-1801) called back her army and an elated Agha Muhammad began planning another campaign against Georgia. Returning to Tehran in the spring of 1795, he assembled a force of some

60,000 cavalry and infantry and in May, 1797 set off for Azerbaijan, intending to conquer the country between the rivers Arax and Kur, formerly under Safavid control.

Agha Muhammad, who by that time had already managed to declare himself shah (even though he had still not succeeded in conquering South Caucasia as tradition required), decided to carry out a second attack on Karabagh. To avenge the previous humiliating defeat, he devastated the surrounding villages near Shushi. The population had not yet recovered from the previous attack of 1795 and the country was suffering from a serious drought that had lasted for three years. The artillery of the attackers also caused serious losses to the city's defenders. In this way, Agha Muhammed Shah succeeded in seizing Shushi and Panah Ali's son, Ibrahim Khalil khan, was forced to flee to Daghestan.

Despite this success, Agha Muhammed Shah was killed by his bodyguards under disputed circumstances several days after his seizure of Shushi and the Persian throne passed to his nephew Fathali Shah (1797-1834). The Iranian troops now departed and Ibrahim Khalil returned to Shushi, where he restored his authority as khan of Karabagh and sent Agha Mohammad's body to Tehran. Grateful, Fathali Shah confirmed him as governor of Karabagh and, in return, Ibrahim Khalil gave him his daughter in marriage.

Under Khalil's rule, the Karabagh khanate grew in importance and established ties with other neighboring khanates as well as with the Persian, Ottoman and Russian empires. In 1805, the treaty of Kurek-chai was signed between the Karabagh khanate and the Russian Empire according to which the Karabagh khan recognized the dominance of the Russian Empire, gave up his right to carry out an independent foreign policy, and agreed to pay the Russian Treasury 8,000 gold rubles a year. In turn, the Tsarist government agreed not to infringe upon the right of the legitimate successors of the Karabagh khan to administer the internal affairs of their possessions.

The First Russo-Persian War, 1804-1813

All this led to a war between the Russian and Persian Empires (1804-1813), which ended in a complete disaster for the new Qajar Dynasty. During this conflict the Russians decided that the acquisition of the khanate of Ganje and its center were matters of special importance. Although General Tsitsianov several times advised Javad khan to submit to Russian rule, Javad always refused. In De-

cember 1803, however, General Tsitsianov began the siege of Ganje and, after heavy artillery bombardment, on January 3 1804 at 5 A.M. Tsitsianov gave the order to attack the fortress, which fell after fierce fighting. Javad khan was killed in the assault together with his sons. Ganje then became a Russian town renamed Elizabethpol (Russ. *Yelizavetpol'*) in honor of Tsar Alexander's wife Elizabeth of Baden. In 1805 the imperial government abolished the khanate, which then became the military district of Elizabethpol.

The brief and successful Russian campaign of 1812 was concluded by the treaty of Gulistan (*Giulistan*), near the castle of that name in northern Karabagh, which was signed on October 12 of the following year. The treaty provided for the incorporation into the Russian Empire of vast tracts of Iranian territory, including Dagestan, Georgia (Kartli-Kakheti, with the Shuragel district), Imeretia, Guria, Mingrelia, and Abkhazia, as well as the khanates of Karabagh, Ganje, Shaki, Shirvan, Derbent, Quba, Baku, and Talysh. However, in the same year, the Russians reneged on the treaty, apparently acting on suspicion that Ibrahim Khalil khan was a traitor. Major Lisanevich killed him near Shushi together with some members of his family.

Although the Russian Empire had gained *de facto* control over the Karabagh khanate in 1805 the Russian annexation was not formalized until the treaty of Gulistan, when Fathali Shah Qajar of Persia officially ceded it to Tsar Alexander I. After a few years of Russian tolerance toward its Muslim rulers, the khanate was abolished in 1822 (along with the other khanates that it had subdued in the early nineteenth century) and a Russian province, with a military administration, was formed. After defeating Iran in the last Russo-Persian War the Russian Empire then consolidated its power in South Caucasus with the treaty of Turkmenchay (1828). The descendants of Panah khan subsequently scattered throughout the Persian Empire.

The Annexation of the Georgian Kingdoms

By the treaty of Georgievsk (1783), Russia had agreed to extend its protection to the Georgian kingdom of Kartli-Kakheti (the two having merged with the extinction of the Kartlian branch of the Bagratids in 1762), but the death of King George XII (1798–1801) saw the impoverished and depopulated kingdom in a state of such disarray that the Russians simply decided to annex the country outright (1801).

The annexation of Georgia (*i.e.* the joint kingdom of Kartli-Kakheti) by the Russians in 1801 established them south of the Great Caucasus range until the brief period of Azeri and Armenian independence (1918-1920), and that of Georgia (1918-1921), and the present period of the independence of all three (since 1991). The kingdom of West Georgia (*Imereti*) was annexed in 1810 and then, one by one, the Imeretian principalities: Guria in 1828, Suaneti (Russ. *Svanetiia*) and Odishi or Samegrelo (Russ. *Mingrelia*) in 1857, and Abkhazeti (Russ. *Abkhazia*) in 1864. Meanwhile, the security of the Russian presence in the region required not only the Russian annexation of the khanates of southeast Caucasia but then of the Caucasian mountain tribes, the latter led by the redoubtable warrior-imam, Shamil. Thus began the great thirty-year period of the Caucasian Wars that did not end until the latter's surrender in 1859.

Meanwhile, the Georgians considered the Russian annexation of their country a betrayal and there were uprisings against Russian rule in Kartli in 1804, Kakheti in 1812 / 1813, Imereti in 1819-1820 and an outright rebellion organized throughout Georgia by members of the nobility in 1832. All such movements were firmly suppressed, although peasant uprisings occurred in Guria in 1841 and in Mingrelia as late as 1857. The Georgians resent the Russians to this day.

The Last Siege of Shushi and the Second Russo-Persian War, 1827-1828

Unable to accept the terms of the treaty of Gulistan, Abbas Mirza, heir to the Persian throne, obtained permission from his father to attempt to recover the territories just lost to Russia. The result was a final Russo-Persian war in 1827 that proved to be an even greater disaster for the Persians than the one before.

The last Persian attempt to seize Karabagh and to regain the lost territories in South Caucasia was initiated by Abbas Mirza, who, with his army surrounded Shushi in July-August, 1826. Thus began a heroic defense that lasted for forty-eight days. Thousands of the local villagers, together with a relatively few Russian soldiers, fought throughout the siege stopping the enemy in the Gargar canyon beneath Shushi's ramparts and giving the Russian arsenals in Tiflis time to get ready to attack the Persians on a wide front. The garrison at Shushi consisted of 1,300 soldiers. To these defenders were joined some 1,500 armed Armenians from twenty-two villages in Karabagh.

Surrounded by Persians and greatly outnumbered, their situation was often dire.

In the end, however, the Persians were defeated again, Erevan (Russ. *Erivan*) was taken and Tabriz briefly occupied, and by the new treaty of Turkmanchay (Per. *Torkmanchay*, February 1828) Persia not only accepted the loss of the territories ceded at Gulistan fifteen years before but now surrendered to Russia the khanates of Erevan and Nakhichevan, as well, *i.e.*, the whole of Persian Armenia, together with the khanate of Talysh south of the Arax. The southern frontier of the Russian Empire, thus established, endured until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, and remains the northwestern boundary of Iran to this day. In one of his reports to Paskievich and Ermolov, the Russian commander of the Shushi defense cited the valor and loyalty of the local Armenians and the great losses that they suffered during the siege.

The Russo-Turkish War of 1828

Now it was the turn of the Turks to wax indignant over Russian expansion into Caucasia. Unable to accept what had occurred at Turkmanchay, the Ottoman government attempted to turn back the Russian advance but only experienced a military disaster similar to what which had befallen the Persians. The great fortified cities of Kars and Erzurum were both taken, and the Russian forces overran the whole of Turkish Armenia. Here, however, the tsar had gone too far; neither Britain nor France was prepared to see the Russians so firmly ensconced on the high plateau, and they insisted that the terms of peace be renegotiated to their satisfaction. By the treaty of Adrianople (1829), Erzurum and Kars were returned to the Ottoman Empire, Russia keeping for itself only the small districts of Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki taken from the pashalik of Ahiska (Geo. *Akhalsikhe*). The departure of the Russians was followed by a mass exodus of the Armenian population of the Erzurum province, some 90,000 of whom migrated to the districts under Russian control. This, however, takes us beyond the period of our author's last interest, the Russian occupation of Eastern Armenia.

Bibliographical Note

The above *Historical Introduction* is just that: an introduction. A number of studies of Eastern Armenia, its meliks and its wars, have been written over the past century and a half; taken together, they

represent essential reading as background to the study of this work by Archbishop Sergius Hasan-Jalaliants and the other historical sources that have come down to us from the period in question. These sources and secondary studies are cited in the Bibliography.

NOTES

1. A classic source for this subject is McNeill (1963), *passim*.
2. D. Kouymjian in Dèdèyan (1982), p. 368. Hewsen (2001), p. 163.
3. For the Ottoman Empire, see *EI2*, Karpat (1974), and Kinross (1977).
4. For Safavid Persia, see *EI2*, and Melville (1996).
5. For Uzun Hasan, see *EI2*, Woods (1999), *passim*.
6. For these travelers see Hewsen, *ibid.*, “Bibliography,” pp. 296-298.
7. For the Seljuks of Rum, see *EI2*, *ODB*, and Köprülü (1992)
8. *Supra*, n. 3.
9. For the rise of the Safavid Empire, see *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6 (Cambridge, New York, 1986.). Note: by “Azerbaijan,” is intended the Persian province of that name situated south of the Arax River; there was no other Azerbaijan until the twentieth century, when the name was first applied to the Muslim lands lying in southeast Caucasia north of the river, i.e. the territory of the former khanates of Shirvan, Quba and Baku.
10. For the rise of the Russian Empire, see Vernadsky and Karpovich, vol. 1 (1943); Florinsky, vol. 1 (1960); and Riasanovsky and Steinberg (2005).
11. For Georgia in this period, see Allen (1932), Lang (1957), and Suny (1994).
12. For the major sources for Armenia in the eighteenth century, see the bibliography in this volume and that in Bournoutian (2001), pp. 483-489. For Muslim Caucasia, see the bibliographies in Atkins (1976, 1981); for travelers in this period, see Hewsen (1992), pp. 296-297; for specialized studies in the historiography of the period, see Babayan (1984).
13. See n. 12, *Ibid.*
14. Pallas (1812); Reineggs (1796 / 1807).
15. Toumanoff (1963), p. 267.
16. For early Aghuank, see Strabo (XI.4.1); Trever (1959), pp. 7-177; *EI2*, s.v., “Arran,” Bais (2001), ch. III; and Hewsen (2001, Map 25).
17. Strabo (XI.4.6).
18. For greater Aghuank see MD/MK, *passim*; Trever, *ibid.*, pp. 178-334; Bais, *ibid.* ch. IV.
19. These so-called Aghuank-s were 1) Albania-Hereti, 2) Albania-Lori, 3) Albania-Kakheti, 4) Albania-Parisos, and 5) Albania-Artsakh, for all of which see Toumanoff (1984).
20. For the principality of Khachen see Ulubabyan (1975).
21. For the use of the title “king,” in reference to Hasan-Jalal-Dola see

Barkhudaryan (1982), p. 15, inscr. 12.

22. For which see the genealogical charts in Toumanoff (1976). (NB. The genealogies set forth by me in the *REA* 10 (1973-1974), are now obsolete and have been redrawn in schematic form for this volume. These here also correct certain errors that have crept into Toumanoff's otherwise excellent work.

23. *BP* III.6.

24. Koriun XVII; MX III.3.

25. Brosset, *Introduction.*, p. 165. This inscription is read differently by Brosset and by Thierry to a point where its exact meaning could be seriously compromised. According to Brosset (*Ibid.*), the inscription describes the jurisdiction of the see of St. Grigoris (*i.e.* that of the Aghuan Church) in the mid-thirteenth century. Thierry, on the other hand (pp. 181-182), reads the name of the prelate as that of St. Gregory the Illuminator and takes the inscription to be describing solely the jurisdiction of the diocese of the monastery of Gtish in the thirteenth century. Fortunately, the exact wording of the inscription, as found in M. Barkhudarians (1895, pp. 201-202) and in S. Barkhudaryan (1982, pp. 181-183) makes it clear that Thierry is in error and that the readings of Brosset, Barkhudarians, and Barkhudaryan are correct: the jurisdiction in question is that of St. Grigoris and of the see of Aghuank as it existed in the mid-thirteenth century. NB: the orthography of some of these toponyms and hydronyms found in the inscription has been corrected on the basis of the readings of the M. Barkhudarians and S. Barkhudaryan. It is still not possible to identify all of them.

26. The Aghuan River, now the Hegaru, flows into the Arax from the north. This would be the boundary of the jurisdiction of the Aghuan catholicosate, on the southwest extending to where the Hegaru flows into the Arax on its left.

27. The “sands” (*awazn*, *i.e.* “the banks”?) of Gatuhat would be the boundary on the southeast, “sands” being possibly a reference to the lowland Mili Plain to the east of Karabagh, where Gatuhat—village or river?—would have been located.

28. Vakunik, *i.e.* *Vaykunik, the later *Tsar*, represents the district along the uppermost reaches of the Terter (*Trtu*) River.

29. Vaghazn is apparently an old name for the upper reaches of the Terter (*Trtu*), a name preserved only in this inscription.

30. Karatnik and the next few names—Khozan, Arist, Hakari, Hazar, and Krtaget—are readily identifiable.

31. Krtaget (the Kurt River), a district named for its valley or for a village near which it took its source.

32. Dizak is the southernmost district of Karabagh, which in the time of the inscription extended to the Arax.

33. Belukan is probably the medieval city of Baylakan, not yet destroyed by the Mongols in 1239, when this inscription was made.

34. This description of the limits of the jurisdiction of the catholicosate of Aghuank obviously begins in the southwest, follows the Artsakh / Karabagh Mountains north to the upper reaches of the River Terter, loops around to the north and then runs south to the east side of Dizak and southeast to Baylakan, whose river flows into the Arax on the southeast.

35. For the transmission of the catholicosate of Aghuank from uncle to nephew see the accompanying chart I showing the Hasan-Jalaliants line.

36. The date 1830 is the one usually given for the Russian suppression of the Aghuan catholicosate but in a document dated 18 May 1805, excerpted by Bournoutian (1998, Doc. 121, p. 128-129), General Tsitsianov issued a decree removing the Armenians of the khanates of Shemakha, Nukha, Baku, and Derbent, as well as those of the five melikdoms of Karabagh, from under the authority of the catholicos of Aghuank and placing them instead under the jurisdiction of the catholicos at Echmiatsin. This automatically deprived the see of Aghuank of all of its adherents and in effect shut down the institution *de facto* ten years before its official termination. The last Aghuan Catholicos, Sergius II, author of our text, was removed from his position in 1815 and his office suppressed in 1830.

37. Hakobyan (1968), p. 389.

38. For the meliks of Karabagh, see Raffi (1886), *passim*; Hakobyan (1968), pp. 387-392; Hewsen (1972), pp. 285-329; *idem.* (1973-1974), pp. 288-289; the *HZP* IV (1972), pp. 122-374; Leo, vol. 3 (1973), pp. 9-429.

39. For the house of Hasan-Jalaliants, see Raffi (ed. 1906), pp. 15-16; Hewsen (1972), pp. 317-318; 1973-1974, pp. 286-289; Toumanoff 1976; *idem.* 1990, pp. 243-245; *HSH*, vol. 6, p. 246.

40. For the monastery of Gandzasar, see Ulubabayan (1981), *passim*; Ulubabayan and Hasratyan (1987), *passim*; Hasratyan-Thierry (1981).

41. *Vostan*, pp. 249-251.

42. *Infra* n. 49.

For the house of Beglariants, see Raffi 1886, pp. 6-14; Hewsen (1972), pp. 319-321; *idem.* 1973-1974, p. 292; Toumanoff (1976), pp. 250-252; *idem.* (1990), omitted. (In the 1990 edition, Toumanoff omitted certain charts found in the 1976 edition to make room for additional material on other houses).

43. For the Beglariants' origin see Beknazarians *Gaghtnikn Karabagli* (1886), pp. 188-192; Raffi (1886, ed. 1906), pp. 6-14.

44. For the house of Israeliants, see Raffi (1886, ed. 1906), pp. 14-15; Hewsen 90, pp. 323-324; *idem.* 90, pp. 225-228; and especially Yovsepian (1969), *passim*.

45. For the monastery of Amaras, see Oskian (1953), pp. 24-29; *DAA* 19 *Gharabagh* (1988), pp. 100-101; Hasratyan (1977), pp. 243-259.

46. For the Avaniants, see Raffi (1886; ed. 1906), pp. 18-21; *Arakel vardapet* (1913), *passim*; Hewsen (1972), pp. 321-323; *idem.* (1973-1974), pp. 293-296; Toumanoff (1976), pp. 253-261; *idem.* (1990), pp. 260-264.

47. For the house of Aghamaliants, see Hewsen *Pazmaveb* (1973-1974), pp. 296-298; *idem.* (1986), *passim*.
48. For Shahnazar and Shah Abbas, see Arakel of Tabriz, chap. 8; Engl. trans. vol. I, p. 78.
49. For the house of Shahnazarians, see Raffi (1886; ed. 1906, pp. 17-18; [Bishop] Karapet [Ter-Minasian] (1914), *passim*; Hewsen (1972), pp. 290-291; *idem.* (1973-1974), pp. 290-291; Toumanoff (1976), pp. 246-249; *idem* (1990, genealogy omitted).
50. For the meliks of Getabek, see Barkhudaryan (1982), pp. 267-274; Hewsen (2001), p. 163, col. 2.
51. For the meliks of Tsar, see *HSH*, vol. V, p. 120; Barkhudaryan (1982), pp. 217-225; *HHShTB*, vol. 2, p. 844.
52. For other meliks, see Raffi (1886, ed. 1906), pp. 313-314.
53. The “meliks of Derbent” occasionally cited were actually identical to the meliks of Ghapan, the Armenian word *kapan* (also *ghapan*) having the same sense as Persian *darband* / *derbent* “locked gate” or “fortified pass” (*cf.* Arm. *kapanaran* “jail” *i.e.*, “lockup”).
54. For Israel Ori and his career, see Raffi (1886), pp. 21 ff., Kiurtian (1960), *passim*; Leo vol. 3 (1973), pp. 29-102.
55. For the house of Prince Prosh—the Kaghbakian or Proshian family—see Yovsepian (1969), *passim*; Toumanoff (1976), pp. 302-309.
56. For Peter’s Persian campaign, see Vernadsky and Karpovich (1943), Florinsky (1960), Massey (1980), Troyat (1987), Lindsey (2002), and Risanovsky and Steinberg (2005).
57. For Avan *yüzbaşı*, see the Introduction and also Arakel *vardapet* (1913), *passim*; and Bournoutian (2001), p. 447.
58. Toumanoff (1976), pp. 253, 258; *idem.* (1990), the Avanids of Dizak are referred to on p. 200 as chart 49b but no such chart exists in the volume.
59. *Infra* pp. 000-000. Toumanoff, (1976), p. 258.
60. For Shushi, see Mesrob Taghiadian (1847), Yakob Shushetsi (1863), J. Mourier (1894), M. Barkhudarians (1895), E. Avalov (1977), Setrak Manoukian and Hermann Vahramian (1988), Stephen Mkrtchian and Schors Davtian (1999), Zori Balayan (1999), Vahram Balayan (2005), Raffi Kojian (2007), and Boris Baratov (2010).
61. *Ibid.* p. 8.
62. *Armenipedia.org*. s.v. “Shushi.”
63. A. Hovanisyan quoted from *Armenipedia.org*. (*Ibid.*).
64. The Russian General Matyushkin in an archival letter dated December 19, 1726, quoted by A. G. Abrahamyan (1953), p. 7.
65. For the exploits of David Beg, see Shahumian [whose authorship of the text in question is disputed] (1871/1978 / 1988); Chamchian [Chamich], vol. II (1787), ch. XXV; Raffi (1886), *passim*; Leo, vol. 3 (1973), pp. 177 ff.; *HZP*, vol. 4 (1972), and *HSH*, vol. 3 (1977) pp. 302-303, in which the date of David’s birth is given as unknown; Chamchian, however (*ibid.*),

gives his age as fifty-four at the time of his death in 1728, making his birth year 1674.

66. Given the overwhelming numbers of the Muslim population in South-east Caucasia, one may question the wisdom of David in treating the local Muslims in such a way as to engender the long-lasting enmity between the Armenians and their neighbors that exists to this day.

From 1606 to 1722 southern Siunik was ruled by khans of the Ziyadoglu Qajar dynasty, until the area was liberated by David-Beg (r.1722-1728) after whose death the control of it passed to his second in command, Mkhitar *sparapet* (1728-1730). After Mkhitar's murder, Ghapan was overwhelmed by the Muslims under Ugherlu khan (1730-1738), who held it until it was annexed by Panah Ali khan bey (1747-1761) of the Jevanshir dynasty. The Russians occupied the region during the reign of Panah's son, Ibrahim Khalil Panah khan (1761-1806). Ibrahim was succeeded by his own son, Mehdi qoli khan Muzaffar (1806-1822) after which the khanate was abolished and Ghapan passed under direct Russian administration.

67. The story of David Beg was filmed in 1944 as *Davit-Bek* with the distinguished actor Hrachya Nersisyan in the title role, to arouse patriotic fervor among the Armenians during the Second World War, and in 1950 an opera was written by Armen Tigranian to glorify the Russian role in the events of David's period. In 1978, David's story was filmed again by Armenfilm working with the Mosfilm Studio in Russia under the title *Star of Hope* and with the Georgian actor Edisher Magalashvili as David-Beg.

68. Mirza Adigözel-Beg, Eng. trans. G. Bournoutian (2004), pp. 162-163.

69. Nersesov and Kostikyan (2000).

70. Barkhudaryan (1982), p. 178, inscr. 633; Thierry, pp. 177-178.

71. For Muhammad Nadir-Shah Afshar, see *EIr*; *CHIr*, vol. 7; L. Lockhart (1938; repr. 1973); Michael Axworthy (2006).

72. Abraham of Crete (*Abraham Kretatsi*). *Chronicle*. (1973 / 1999), chap. 25 ff.

73. For these khanates see Atkin (1972, 1980), *passim*.

74. For the khanate of Erevan there is, besides Atkin (1972), pp. 117-121, the special monographic study by G. Bournoutian (1992).

75. Bournoutian (1992), pp. 50, 79.

76. *Ibid.* p. 194.

77. For the khanate of Shaki, see *EI2* and Atkin (1972), pp. 108-111.

78. For the khanate of Shirvan, see *EI2* and Atkin (1972), pp. 102-108.

79. Ptolemy (ed. Nobbe), V.12.4.

80. MD/MK II.39.

81. *ESBE* (1906)—*Entsiklopedicheskii slovar Brokgausa i Efrona* [Brockhaus and Efron *Encyclopedic Dictionary*]. 86 vols. Leipzig / St. Petersburg, s.v. “Shamakha.”

82. Knight, Charles. *Penny Cyclopaedia* (London, 1833).

83. *ESBE* (1906). *Ibid.*

84. For the khanate of Ganje, see *EI2* and Atkin (1976).
85. For the khanate of Nakhichevan, see *EI2* and Atkin (1976).
86. For the khanate of Baku, see *EI2* and Atkin (1976), pp. 81-90.
87. For the khanate of Quba (*Kuba, Qobbeh*), see *EI2* and Atkin (1976), pp. 98-102.
88. For the khanate of Darband, see *EI2* and Atkin (1976), pp. 92-97.
89. Apart from these more or less important statelets in southeast Caucasia, there existed a number of lesser or short-lived political formations that co-existed with them. These included: 1) the khanate of Talysh or Talesh (not to be confused with the melikdom of Giulistan also referred to as Talesh/Talysh from its alternate center, the village of that name) for which see Atkin (1976), pp. 122-124; 2) the sultanate of Elisu or Ilisu founded in 1562 by a branch of the Georgia princes of Savakhvakhko (the house of Vakhvakhishvili) and annexed by Russia in 1807; 3) Javad, located between Talesh and Karabagh and Karadagh; 4) Salyan, a khanate or sultanate created on the lower Arax, a vassal of Quba until annexed by Fath Ali khan of Quba (1758-1789), for which see Atkins (1976), pp. 90-92; 5) Samshadin (Geo. *Shamshadilo*; Russ. *Shamshadil*), a sultanate located northeast of Lake Sevan, at first a vassal of the khanate of Ganje and then, after 1736, of the king of Kartli; and, finally, 6) Kutkashen, a small sultanate corresponding to the district and city of Kabala.
90. For Panah Ali, see Raffi, pp. 45-50, *passim*; *HZP* vol. IV (1973), pp. 102, 194, 195, 221, 251.
91. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* "Online: History of Azerbaijan;" quoting Bakikhanov. *Golestan*.
92. Mirza Adigözel-beg (1845, Baku ed., 1950, p. 54); Mirza Jamal Javan-shir (1847), p. 68.
93. Tapper (1997), p. 114.
94. Adigözel-beg, p. 54
95. *Ibid.*
96. Adigözel-beg, *ibid.*
97. Mirza Yusuf, *Tarihi-Safi* (1856).
98. Mkrtchian (1999). p. 12.
99. Van Halen (1827),
100. For the career of Joseph Emin, see Emin (1792 / 1918), Arm. trans. (1958); Leo (vol. 3, pt. 2); *HZP* vol. IV (1972), pp. 198-202; Ioannisyan (1945); *HSH*, vol. 4, p. 45.
101. For Prince Valerian Grigorievich Madatov, né Rostom Mehrabents (1783-1829), about whom little has been written in any Western language, see Kotzebu, *et al.* (1837); Madatova (1863); and Hewsen (1999).
102. For the Barons Von Aretin, a very well-connected noble house of Bavaria, see Topagian (1981-1982), pp. 345-380.
103. Svietchowski, (1995), p.5.

Archbishop Sergius [Sargis] Hasan-Jalaliants

A HISTORY OF THE LAND OF ARTSAKH

[Karabagh and Ganje, 1722-1822]

(*Patmutiun Aghuanits Ashkharhi*)

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APPENDIX – Miscellaneous isolated passages

Text:

[Page 1, missing from the University off Tübingen Library ms. No. 87, has been restored here from the Matenadaran copy (microfilm No. 367) bearing the Tübingen Library seal]. Note that the various passages of the text have no numerals either in the original ms. or in the list of Raffi. The numbers in square brackets ([1]-[35a]) are those of VA; the bold face italicized numbering of each section (**1** through **56**) is the one used by KVK.

1. Avan Yüzbaşı

The celebrated Lord Avan-Yüzbaşı¹ expanded his fame in the land of Aghuank.² In the Armenian year 1171 [1722], he built a fortress³ in the inaccessible and impassable gorge of the Gargar River⁴ and, having secured himself from the threats of his enemies,⁵ from there began to wage wars against the Persian troops and managed to destroy many of them. After taking spoils, he would return to his impregnable fortress.

When the Ottoman army entered the land of Artsakh,⁶ Avan met it with his great army, having beside him [his comrades-in-arms] Tark-

han-yüzbashi,⁷ John-yüzbashi,⁸ Baghir-yüzbashi,⁹ Melik Gregory,¹⁰ and Melik Mejnun.¹¹ He did them [the Ottomans] the right measure of justice and returned with great joy to his fortress. The Turkish commander, having confronted separately with the meliks of the Aragats land,¹² retired to his region of Ararat.¹³ Unfortunately, the vengeful Persians had become the enemies of the Armenian meliks a long time before. Now they were also angry about the coming of the Ottoman army and entered Artsakh with their great host to conquer that land and its meliks. This news reached the meliks quickly [lacuna]...of the vitaxa [*bdeskhk*]¹⁴ of Erevan and they asked [lacuna] for help against the moving waves of this savage army. Melik Avan found their conduct disturbing and prevented it [...] saying:

“It is shameful to ask for aid from the Turkish khan [*duks*].¹⁵ When you take even one egg from a raven, you arouse a thousand of them.¹⁶ Where are now our invincible arms? Where is the cherished glory of our ancestral victories? Have the Armenians weakened? Have they bowed their heads before the Persians? Is it worthy of us to trample on the high rank of our beloved ancestors [2] and then with an iron stylus to write in eternal scorn on a diamond tablet?¹⁷ It is better for us to die bravely, than to remain alive and darken our faces with the black ashes of fear. The monuments of our forefathers are complaining about us to God, for we are willing to waste the praiseworthy heroism of their elevated spirits.¹⁸ Here is the sword, and here is the [battle] horn. Either stay back from the alarm of this horn like those fainting women, or with the selfless courage and a sword in hand rise against the proud Persians who are coming against us in a heavy storm.”

Thus encouraging [his listeners], the blessed Avan gathered his men and horses into an army, heading to face the Persian front with his troops and setting his army in Lesser Siunik¹⁹ on the outskirts of the town of Baylakan²⁰ on the bank of the Arax River, and ... [lacuna: insert: “thus these two met”?]... Enriched by the flaws of their armies [lacuna] the warriors confronted each other in battle and with a maddening thirst began to spill each other’s blood [lacuna]. They tried [fighting] both with swords and bows, also choking with nooses [lacuna]. The brave of the bravest met there and with red blood [lacuna: spilling?] satisfied their hunger for courage [lacuna] At sunset they all [Armenians and Persians] retired to their [lacuna: camps?]. And

when the dark of the night disappeared and the infant red sun showed its face in the brightening heaven, the battle resumed. The armies, like some unleashed tigers, cut each other's heads without mercy; [3/2] charged [forward] and arose one upon another. The sound of their rifles, the beat of their riders, the crackle of their arrows, and the rattle of their sabers was deafening. And with such courage the horsemen fought the battle. On both sides there were wounded and fallen, but they both remained undefeated. Then, roaring his voice, Avan asked [the monastery of] Amaras²¹ for help, thus encouraging his aide-de-camp [*tiknapah*], who only had a few warriors, but [who] with a [seemingly] impossible assault, forced the Persians to flee, drowning one half of their force in the river and flattening the surface of the field with the other half. He, himself [Avan], with great victory and rich booty turned to the fortress, which was in the steep gorge. This sudden news reached Ararat and was taken with hearty and spirited joy by the Turkish khan, who wrote a thankful letter expressing great jubilation, a copy of which now can be found with Balthasar, the metropolitan of Karabagh.²²

Praised be your honor, Avan-yüzbashi, [lacuna: Tarkhan is probably cited next?] yüzbashi, Baghir-yüzbashi, John-yüzbashi, Melik Gregory, [lacuna: Melik] Mejnun, who fought the evil Qizilbash²³ ...[and so] became famous. [May] Barkhudar²⁴ also be famous. [May they] all be [included among the] saints. Thus [they] write...in the year 1126 [1678]...[The enemy] cried and promised many things...and from the great of *khontpar*²⁵ the expedition of Ali-agha²⁶ came....to keep these regions. Avan himself kept Aghuank in great peace and resided at his impregnable fortress in the gorge of Gargar.²⁷

[Note: Here ends the first page, missing in the Tübingen ms. but retrieved by VA from the microfilm copy of the latter in the Matenadaran in Erevan].

2. *On the Coming of the Turks to Karabagh*²⁸

3/4 The khan of Erevan, faithful to his promise, sent [to Artsakh]²⁹ the [Ottoman] troops under the command of Suleiman-beg.³⁰ Suleiman immediately entered Artsakh, conquering the states of Hasan³¹ and of Melik Baghir,³² but promising to leave all the inhabitants in peace and tranquility. However, when the winter turned harsh, he asked for residence to quarter his troops. Avan ordered that each village resident of Shushi³³ and Avetaranots³⁴ should host in

his home [a number of] Turkish troops according to his ability. The general himself took residence in Melik Baghir's house. Thereafter, General Suleiman crossed the bounds of decency and with a shameless face asked Baghir to bring him virgin girls, promising in return many treasures. However, Melik Baghir considered this a dishonoring assault on the dignity of the entire Melik Avan house. Following this, the clever Lord Avan demonstrated [submission] and promised to fulfill promptly Suleiman's request. However, he ordered it so that his men destroyed [Suleiman's troops] in a single night and captured Suleiman taking him to the field. [However, there Melik Baghir] ordered the release of Suleiman's bonds in front of a large crowd. "Beg," he said, it is not our custom to take [to the field] one's son-in-law [i.e one's guest] and to kill him there unlawfully" [and, Suleiman, being his guest, he released him]. Meanwhile, [Avan] restored the country, strengthened its fortresses and revolted against both Persians and Turks, becoming the sole ruler of the country.

[5/3] 3. Avan's Refuge in Russia

After the slaying of Suleiman-beg, Avan's enemies and the mortal danger to his person multiplied, and not as much among his enemies, as among his relatives. He [therefore] thought it wise to leave Artsakh, especially in the face of the Persian and Ottoman menace. Therefore, with 20,000 men [*aramb*] he moved from Karabagh and entered [the land of] Shaki.³⁴ However, being no less oppressed by the mountainous tribe of the Lesguians,³⁵ he fled from there as well, descending to the Gardman gorge³⁶ of the land of Aghuank, and built a church in a valley, populating the adjacent lands with his people. At this time, filled with jealousy toward him [Avan], the khan of Shirvan,³⁷ seeing the greatness of his fame and especially fearing his strength, began, first secretly and then openly, to cause him harm. Avan, seeing that it had become impossible for him to remain in peace, took with him one hundred men and went to Russia. There he passed away, leaving behind a new generation, seeded from the fire of his courage and fame, which had already become prominent in Russia.³⁸

4. Melik Isaiah's move from Siunik' to Artsakh.

Melik Isaiah, the son of Melik Israel from the Siunid Armenian dynasty, after murdering the chief khan of the land of Siunik for having [made] sexual advances toward his sister, left for the land of Art-

sakh, taking with him many people. In the Armenian year 1136 [1687], he arrived at the steep hills of Mrav.³⁹ The khan's troops pursued him, but with his sons and servants he [Isaiah] slew some of them, took their belongings, forced some others to flee from Handaberd⁴⁰ and the gorges, and pushed them halfway down from the precipice. Then, having gained the hearts of both the mountain and the tent people,⁴¹ he acquired the entire area and became the true ruler of these parts, emboldened by his princely stature and splendor. He [next] conquered the Kuank gorge⁴² that began at the Rmbost Mountains,⁴³ situated on the Sot plateau,⁴⁴ and reached the village of Diutakan, which is now called Ktughkasar,⁴⁵ and ended his life with such valiant courage, leaving his domain to his first born son Ali Ghuli-sultan.⁴⁶

[6] Ali Ghuli-sultan, the great son of Melik Isaiah, rightfully inherited his father's power over these regions. As the ruler of Upper Khachen,⁴⁷ Hawakakhaghats,⁴⁸ Handaberd,⁴⁹ Haterk,⁵⁰ Akan,⁵¹ and Jraberd,⁵² little by little he became more powerful and the fame of his name spread everywhere. When Nadir-shah [the First] came to the land of Artsakh, he first invited him [Ali Ghuli] to his palace, then always admitted him with great affection and bestowed upon him the honor due a sultan as well. He then left for the land of Attrpatakan,⁵³ having placed under his [Ali Ghuli's] influence the entire land of Artsakh.

At this time, Panah and Farzali,⁵⁴ the sons of Ibrahim,⁵⁵ himself a son of Sarujal⁵⁶ from the race of Chingis (Genghis),⁵⁷ according to the account of Mirza Adi Gözal of Lori,⁵⁸ took their residence in Artsakh during the reign of Ali Ghuli-Sultan. [There] they became the servants of Nadir-shah.⁵⁹ However, due to their treachery, Nadir's court [*divan*] sentenced them to decapitation. Farzali perished, but Panah escaped to his land in Karabagh, hoping through the intercession of our great sultan [Ali Ghuli] to free himself from Nadir's bloodthirsty murderous threat. Some time thereafter, Ali Ghuli-sultan received a letter from Nadir-shah requesting [him] to send Panah back. However, the benevolent sultan humanely kept him in a hide-out and answered Nadir-shah that the latter [Panah] was not residing in his lands.

After the death of Nadir-shah in Kandahar in the Armenian year 1194 [1745] in the month of *Zantahar*⁶⁰ Ali Ghuli-Sultan gave orders to settle Panah, together with his displaced relatives, on the banks of the Arax River in the province of Lesser Siunik, within the

very junction where the great Arax mixed with the waters of the River Kur. From being a nobody, Panah suddenly became a someone who excelled. With his Persian craftiness and greedy heart, he little by little began to sharpen his horns against his benefactor, the Armenian [*Haykazuni*] sultan. After a while, being incited [7/4] by Heidar Ghuli,⁶¹ he revolted against Ali Ghuli-Sultan with his entire clan in 1200 [1751]. On his deathbed, Ali Ghuli-Sultan spoke the following emotional words that became nursery rhymes on the lips of infants: "Tell the brave bishop," he said, "to come here to either kill him or save me. My brother, Adam, avenge me. Alas, my vengeance shall remain eternal." Thus he departed from his life [1755], leaving his principality to his brother Adam.⁶²

5. On Melik Egan and his Deeds⁶³

Melik Egan, who was from the village of Ardvi⁶⁴ in the land of Lori, from the family of the Loris-Melikians,⁶⁵ and was a son of the Bishop Luke [*Ghukas*],⁶⁶ took up arms against his relative Elizbar,⁶⁷ who was simultaneously ruling over Lori and Tashir,⁶⁸ except for Mzhavet⁶⁹ and the Babajan Gorge.⁷⁰ But, unable to resist Elizbar, he with his father, moved from his homeland to the village of Togh⁷¹ in the region of Dizak,⁷² in the land of Artsakh. [There] his father, Bishop Luke, renovated the monastery of Gtich,⁷³ created an order, and became an abbot. Egan, himself, rebuilt the village of Togh, constructing there a splendid church, and, in the vicinity of the village, he built a strong fortress and within that fortress he built himself a palace.⁷⁴ Thus, with his selfless courage and benevolence he gained the hearts of all the inhabitants and ruled their state with princely pomp.

When he went to meet Nadir-shah,⁷⁵ the latter accepted Melik Egan and his companions with great honor in his home, proffering sumptuous meals and drinks and great gifts, all of this reflecting a princely favor. With this elevated status Melik Egan ruled his melikdom till the death of Nadir-shah [1747], after which the tranquility of the entire land of Artsakh, as well as Melik Egan's, was disturbed, for others wished to own those lands and regions.

6. On the War Waged by Panah against Melik Egan

After the death of Nadir-shah, Panah bribed the Persian courtiers with expensive gifts and received from [Nadir's successor], the so-called Adil-shah, a grant of a khanate. After this he desired to accept

sovereign rule over the land of Artsakh, so that he would be called “khan,” and the meliks would become his vassals. First he invited Melik Egan, in order to subdue him. And if not, he threatened to bring upon him the [Ottoman] sultan’s strike. This angered the melik who addressed Panah with rude fighting words. Infuriated by this insult, Panah-khan gathered troops composed of all sort of villains and [8] attacked Melik Egan, hoping that if he subdued the latter, then the rest of the Artsakh princes would submit to him as well. However, Melik Egan, having directed his troops against Panah-khan, made him his sword’s prey and made him flee as far as Bayad⁷⁶ fortress, and he himself with much booty returned to his home town of Togh, securing himself behind the walls of his fortress.

7. Again on the War Waged by Panah against Melik Egan

Panah, having been [figuratively] decapitated and shamefully defeated in the war of Togh,⁷⁷ returned to his camp. Then he gathered a cavalry, formed a regiment, and finally asked Hasan-Ali-khan⁷⁸ of Persia for help, promising him to pay a tribute. With this huge army he attacked Melik Egan to begin a war against him, but Melik Egan, foreseeing this, separated two regiments from his own troops and had them lie in ambush. When the sun rose and the battle hardened, one of the regiments came out of its hideout behind the enemy and began slaughtering Panah’s troops. Their noisy onslaught caused confusion in the enemy’s ranks, and the latter took to flight. Panah returned seven times to attack Melik Egan, but, having been heavily hit and defeated, he returned to Bayad. As for Melik Egan, he thereafter developed his land, built new churches and fortresses, restored the ruins of the Gtich monastery, located on the top of Mt. Togh,⁷⁹ and then departed this life, leaving his power to his son Isaiah. They buried him near the door of the church of Togh that was built under his patronage, writing the following on his grave:

“This is the tomb of the courageous great melik called Egan,
 Who was the son of the pious Bishop Luke.
 He ruled his country that was in the land of Aghuank.
 He overpowered the Persians and was titled an Armenian
 prince.
 He bowed to the Savior’s mercy in the year 1292 [1844 sic,
 read: 1744—RHH]⁸⁰”

"In his ancestral cemetery, if you happen to come to his tomb [pray for him]."⁸¹

8. On Isaiah's Melikdom and the New War

Melik Isaiah inherited his father's principality and developed the land, busying himself with reconstruction. Panah, who had been rather afraid of Melik Egan and his family, found some suitable hour to fulfill his mind's hope, this time desiring to defeat Melik Isaiah and to subject the latter's land to his rule. With this intent he again gathered a troop of villains numbering almost 15,000 men and prepared to attack Melik Isaiah, after spreading the false news that he [Panah] was leaving to conquer Shaki. [9/5] However, Haji Chelebi,⁸² a close ally of the melik, understood this deceit and secretly informed him of this. Melik Isaiah gathered his 700-strong army consisting of the veterans of the Togh war and [many] others. He kept 500 men under his control, and the [remaining] 200 he put in ambush.

Panah, having raised the banner of his deceit, came and reached Togh with his motley crowd, and laid siege to it from both sides. But at night, when the battle had escalated and become tense, the small hidden regiment attacked Panah's army from the east. Confusion settled in his army, and Panah's great military invasion turned into flight. At this time Isaiah, proud and haughty, with his 500 male warriors descended from his fortress and proceeded to batter and slaughter, and then to crush and tear to pieces the army of Panah. As the elders say,⁸³ "the face of the field was covered with victims and corpses, and the soil of the land was colored red." Distinguishing himself by such courage, Melik Isaiah turned and entered Togh with great booty. As a result, the power of Panah-khan faded, and, from then on, he did not dare to control directly Melik Egan's house. Instead he sent a petition, seeking peace and admission.

9. The War of the khan of Karadagh,⁸⁴ which is Part of Payata-karan,⁸⁵ against Melik Isaiah

Although in appearance Panah made peace with Melik Isaiah, secretly, as always, he tried to subdue him. Thus, keeping his distance from the plot, he encouraged the khan of Karadagh to wage war against Melik Isaiah, promising to give him many treasures. Tempted by this invitation, the khan of Karadagh entered Dizak with numerous troops to wage war against the house of Egan. Learning

this, Melik Isaiah gathered an army consisting of valiant and strong men, about 500 in all, proceeded to the edge of the gorge, and set some warriors there in ambush, and he himself waited for the coming of the khan of Karadagh. The khan attacked and entered the land of Dizak, willing with his tremendous force to subjugate instantly the entire Armenian population. Thus, he took aim at the gorge, where Melik Isaiah and his troops were lying in wait. Suddenly, at day-break, rattling their sabers from various corners of their hideout, the melik's warriors attacked the khan's army, striking here and there, causing an awful slaughter. The half [alone] of the khan's army managed to cross the Arax River and escape. Taking his booty, Isaiah returned to Togh. From there on peace reigned in the land of Dizak, and the attacks of the enemies ceased.

10. About Vequil Sapar's War⁸⁶

Having reached the honor of leadership over the meliks and having assumed the duty of a chief ruler of the house of Aghuank, Melik Egan taught his heir, Isaiah, how to conduct the affairs of the principality and also tried to teach him the Arabic language, and then ordered one of his closest servants, called Sapar, to be Isaiah's tutor. Being intelligent, Sapar ordered a teaching servant to teach Isaiah the Arabic language. After this, he was elevated to the honor of chief tutor and main servant.

Meanwhile the life of the benevolent Egan came to an abrupt end, and his son Isaiah inherited the principality. And like his father, he retained Sapar in the same position. However, being encouraged by Panah, Sapar, raising his head, revolted and showed his horns to Melik Isaiah, cajoling the latter to submit to Panah-khan and make him [Sapar] his trusted adviser. He also hardened the hearts of some [other] men, telling Isaiah "I am the melik of the Dizak region, and as I served your father, you must serve me." The quarrel between the two sides intensified, and this resulted in a combat. And, as Christ tells us [Matthew 3:25], when the house is divided, it will perish.

Unable to [handle] it [this situation] alone, Melik Isaiah asked the khan of Shirvan for aid, since the latter had been close to Melik Egan from the time of Nadir-shah. Melik Isaiah, with the troops of the khan of Shirvan, attacked Vequil Sapar, who had reinforced himself beforehand in the deep gorges and mountains of Dizak, then fought and defeated him, laying siege to the fortress and blocking the pastures, and finally subduing Sapar's army, which had managed to

cause much damage to the Christians. Melik Isaiah imprisoned Vequil Sapar along with his cohorts, and by this he avenged their ingratitude, thus putting an end to the scandal that arose from the internal quarrels of the house of Dizak. After this, he returned the [borrowed] troops to the khan of Shirvan along with rich gifts.

11. About the Family of Melik Shahnazar

Melik Baghir⁸⁷ was the son of Mirza-bek, who was the son of Melik-bek, who in turn was the son of Melik Shahnazar's brother.⁸⁸ Melik Shahnazar [I] was the ruler of the Gegham region.⁸⁹ During the time when this region was ravaged by the mountainous tribes from the Caucasus,⁹⁰ Melik Baghir, along with his family and possessions, moved and settled in Khachen, in the village of Avetaranots of the Varanda⁹¹ district of Artsakh.⁹² There he built a charming church and a nunnery, fortified the outskirts of the village, and strengthened it with great works. In the southern part of the village he laid the foundation for his palace and finished its construction with a sumptuous structure,⁹³ gaining the hearts of the inhabitants by his masterful governance and efforts to prosper the country, making it remarkable both in the quality and quantity of its harvests, later also having it irrigated by... [11/6. Lacuna: the end of the previous section and the beginning of this next one is missing—RHH] the color of cold blood, for he allied himself with the great Avan, initiated a fight against the Persians and demonstrated in this war great heroism, after which, living piously and generously, he died. He was put to rest in the soil of the Virgins' Convent,⁹⁴ and power passed to his son Melik Hussein.

Melik Hussein, a courageous and victorious man, received his paternal principality with rich and benevolent gifts and with his sword expanded it even more. He restrained revolts, fought against the Persians and Ottomans, and ceased to be anyone's tributary. Thus, with this praiseworthy courage he crowned his life, leaving everything to his son Shahnazar-bek. The following is written on the latter's tomb:

"This is the tomb of Melik Shahnazar [II], the son of Melik Hussein.

Let me praise Melik Hussein, about whom it should be written on this tomb

That he was one of the lords of the land of St. Vardan.⁹⁵

With his bread and benevolence he was a blessing to every family,

And in his praiseworthy person he was the crown and pride of the Armenian people.

With force he exterminated Turks, fighting against the Muslims. He paid no tribute to any king and was the impregnable fortress of his land.

He [Hussein] died in 1158 [=1710; *rectius: 1736*].”⁹⁶

Melik Joseph, heroic and stormy, gained the praise of the Persians with his deeds, and, being as honorable as his father, with his foresight and counsel he united the other meliks, encouraging all of them to erase the memory of the Persian khan from the land of Artsakh. However, these efforts remained unfulfilled because of his brother Shahnazar [III]’s intrigues, for [this] Melik Shahnazar with a base [12] evil in his heart eventually killed his brother Melik Joseph [1750 together] with his [brother’s] son Shahnazar [1775], erasing the memory of those blessed men. Melik Shahnazar thus gained his paternal inheritance.

12. On the Siege of the Avetaranots Fortress by the Meliks

After building his splendid palace, Melik Shahnazar [III] fortified the village of Avetaranots with a strong wall, built a church, and erected a summer residence on the top of the hill. Then his manly bravado revealed itself, while his bloody thirst for hunting increased, and, plotting against his brother Joseph’s melikdom, he killed his brother spreading the rumor that the lover of the latter’s wife had killed him, and he, himself, thus had to gain [control of] the principality. And from that day, having trampled on the holy canon, he tried by all means to marry himself to his late brother’s wife. Being uncontrollable in his selfish desires, in his own wife’s lifetime he took another woman, married her and thus went against the laws [of the Church]. About this [scandal] Metropolitan Balthasar of Artsakh wrote me the following:

“Very reverend brother, Bishop Sergius,

Willing to inform you of the Karabagh meliks’ illegal wives and their issue, I declare that Melik-Shahnazar of Varanda had a lawful first wife, whose name was Tagum,⁹⁷ from whom his lawful son Melik-Jumshud was born. After the death of this wife Tagum, Melik-Shahanzar took for a wife one Sona⁹⁸ and

married her against the [canon] law. From her, his son Melik-Hussein was born, and the latter was given today's Avetaranots as inheritance. During the lifetime of this unlawful [13/7] wife Sona, Melik Shahanzar sacrilegiously married his late brother's wife, Lady Malaka,⁹⁹ and from this unlawful marriage Jahanbakhshi and Jahankir were born. These two also received [an] inheritance in Avetaranots. Melik-Shahnazar does not have [any] other secondary wives, sons or heirs."

These unlawful deeds of Melik Shahnazar [III] angered the other meliks. They came and besieged the Avetaranots fortress in an attempt to seize and kill Melik Shahnazar. They tried many times but did not succeed. They only took some animals from the herds, ravaged the surroundings of the fortress and returned to their lands, having promised to attack again with many armies in spring and completely ruin the village of Avetaranots. Finding himself in this unbearable situation and being besieged from all sides, Shahnazar pleaded with Panah-khan, seeking refuge in the latter's assistance and strengthening himself by becoming the latter's comrade-in-arms. And this became the incurable reason for the decline of the power of the meliks, the beginning of the internecine rivalry, and eventually, the demise of the independence of the Armenian Aghuan house."

13. On the Union of Melik Shahnazar with Panah-khan and on the War of Haji Chelebi

Having gained the privilege of power, Panah became the subject of hatred by both the meliks and neighboring Persian khans. Understanding that it was impossible by suppressing his neighbors to secure peace for his own person, Panah allied himself with Melik Shahnazar [III], laid the foundations of Bayad fortress in 1754, and thereafter gathered in this same fortress his family and troops, thus perfectly securing himself there.

During this time the khan of Shirvan, Haji Chelebi, being persuaded by the meliks, gathered his troops and flooded [...illegible...] devastated and overthrew [Panah's] hold on the land.

[14] However, good fortune consistently smiled upon Panah-khan, keeping him safe during every raid. Thus the troops only burnt, ravaged and looted the surroundings of the fortress, returning to their base. And, while leaving from there, Haji Chelebi said the following: "Panah-khan was [previously] a blank coin, and I came to mint him.

Alas I am returning with shame. Panah was an unknown and useless nobody.¹⁰⁰ However, now, after my coming and failing, I have greatly elevated his name.”

After this, the fortunate Panah-khan tormented the hearts of his enemies. However, Panah noticed that the heaviness of the climate and local inconveniences in Bayad did not let him defend himself against his enemies. Following the advice of Melik Shahnazar, he ascended to a top of one mountain, which was called Tnkrnakert [*sic, Tigranakert—RHH*],¹⁰¹ and founded there a new city. He fortified the orchards and the houses, and also the narrow passage of the gorge, with large stones and converted it into a fortress, calling it Askeran. When the chaos began in the Persian court, and the parties there began destroying each other with swords and [the imposition of] servitude, Panah wanted a more secure, impregnable and unreachable location than the one he had already gained. Thus, searching, he purchased the estate¹⁰² of Shushi liking its setting. Afterwards, in 1755 he laid the foundations of his fortress [there], surrounding the three sides with walls made of rocks and fortifying the fourth side with towers. Henceforth, he secured himself from his external enemies, defeating in the future the five meliks who were called *khamsa*¹⁰³ in Arabic.

[15/8]

14. *On the Foundation of the Armenian Melikdom of Mirza-khan, which was Established in the Armenian Calendar Year of 1204 [1755]*

While fortifying his defenses, Panah-khan also tried to shake the unity of the Artsakh meliks by planting in them the seeds of a divisive hostility and changing their mutual loyalty to confrontation. To reach this end he used different artifices, especially against the melik of Khachen, who was a victorious lord and who was faithfully devoted to the unity of Armenian meliks. In spite of the khan’s ruses, the Khachen melik [house] survived. However, after Melik Mirza-khan¹⁰⁴ had established himself in the land of Kaien,¹⁰⁵ the khan called him to his presence and appointed him chief of the Askeran fortress, bestowing rich gifts upon him. Henceforth, Melik Mirza-khan broke away from the unity of the Armenian meliks and established a cordial friendship with Panah-khan,¹⁰⁶ thus severing his soul from the rebellious meliks. Therefore, a dagger was created in the person of Mirza-khan who tried to destroy the unity of the Arme-

nian meliks and to spread among them endless animosity and mutual vice. And this would become one of the reasons for the destruction of the land of Artsakh.

15. On the Meliks Invitation to the Georgian King Teymuraz¹⁰⁷ and on the Capture and Confining of Panah-khan

Melik Adam¹⁰⁸ and Melik Joseph¹⁰⁹ saw how their comrades, the brave Egan and the Melik of Khachen, died at their side, how Shah-nazar, joining Panah-khan was leading an easy life, and how Melik Mirza-khan, a friend of the Muslims,¹¹⁰ not only distanced himself but also, like [the fifth century traitor] Vasak, was trying to destroy the unity of the Armenians. And as the days went by, the country plunged more and more under the yokes of the Persian shah and Panah-khan. Knowing that the Georgian King Teymuraz was the enemy of Panah-khan, in the year of ...¹¹¹ the Armenian melik princes invited him to their aid and promised that [16] they would also join in arms with the king. Teymuraz gave way to their pleas and, gathering an army consisting of Georgians, Ossetians,¹¹² Khevsurs,¹¹³ and numerous other mountain peoples, moved toward Artsakh. The meliks, having heard of the king's arrival, gathered their men and horses, advanced to meet him, and attacked Gandzak¹¹⁴ with their great army. They imprisoned Shahverdi-khan and then, conquering the land of Artsakh, quickly reached the fortress of Ask-eran.

At first Panah-khan confronted the armies of the king and the meliks and fought them. Having been defeated by the latter's [large] number of troops and having lost the majority of his own, he tried to flee to the Persian lands to find there some hoped for aid. As far as his strong fortress and the entire country was concerned, he decided for now to leave them in the meliks' hands. However, he did not manage to go very far. A few brave men arrested him and, having brought him in chains, threw him in front of the king. Alas it is a pity that they did not deprive this disturber of peace of his life. After this, the entire company with [all] the troops moved toward the Avetaranots fortress, gave battle and, having defeated [them], captured and imprisoned Meliks Shahnazar and Mirza-khan. Finally, gathering many treasures and good herds of animals and sheep as a reward for their troops, and leaving the country to the meliks, they [the king and his army] returned to Georgia, taking Panah-khan, Shahnazar, and Mirza-khan with them.

16. On the War of Haji Chelabi against the Georgian King Teymuraz

After the return of king Teymuraz to Georgia from Artsakh, Melik Adam, as per their prior agreement, asked that Panah-khan, Shahverdi-khan, Melik Shahnazar, and Melik Mirza-khan should be handed over to him. Teymuraz promised to fulfill this request, but his courtiers, having taken bribes from the captives, did not [17/9] let the king surrender them to the above-mentioned melik. The meliks saw that they had failed to reach their objective, which was to deprive of life the disturber of the peace of their lands, and to free the entire nation from the Persian satraps. Moreover, Teymuraz had received many treasures from them [the meliks]. However, now he wished to set free their captured enemies and restore the latter in their positions. This was in spite of the fact that he [the king] had expressed his thanks to the meliks and had made certain promises. Nonetheless, at the right moment, when he left the borders of Artsakh, he reneged on his promise given to his brave allies. The whole affair outraged the Armenian meliks. They instantly sent a secret message to Haji Chelebi [khan of Gandzak] and invited him to fight against the Georgian king, knowing well that Haji Chelebi was an enemy of the Georgian king and was waiting for the right moment to get even with him. They were convinced that he would not cooperate with King Teymuraz.

Haji Chelebi, preparing his attack on Georgia and his sworn enemy, the Georgian king, gathered his troops and departed for Artsakh, although his vassals did not want him to follow the meliks' advice. They complained that the khan kept them in ignorance and that they did not see reason or purpose in this enterprise. He argued that they could think what they wished but that he thought it necessary to cross the Kur River. Thus, ignoring the concerns of his own men, he moved against the Georgian King Teymuraz with his bold campaign and, having chased all to the Shamkhor River, destroyed the latter's troops. Loading his booty, he returned to Gandzak, bringing with him Panah-khan, Shahverdi-khan and those two Armenian meliks. Melik Adam and Melik Joseph on numerous occasions tried to seize them from Haji Chelebi's hands [18] in order to take their lives, but did not succeed. To the contrary, Haji Chelebi granted them their lives, returned them to their princely glory, and thus establishing friendship with them, robbed the country together with [the aid of] their troops. It became apparent that the strongest desire of this treacherous Persian was to conquer the Armenian melikdoms, as

once done by Nebuchadnezzar. [It happened as the books of old preached about the dangers of leaving both Christ's cross and Armenian unity for the sake of the unfaithful Persians.]

17. On the War of the so-called khan Avshar Fathali¹¹⁵ against Panah-khan that took place in 1282.¹¹⁶

A khan, whose name was Avshar Fathali, a faithful servant of the Persian court, seeing that Panah, who was steadily getting stronger and had secured himself within the walls of his impregnable fortress, completely ignored the two meliks' alliance with the Persian state, acquired a haughty air about himself sitting in his fortress of Shushi, did not pay the mandatory taxes to the Persian shah, and, what is more, did not obey the latter, [he, Avshar] wrote to the Armenian meliks cajoling them to get ready, for he was intent on coming with his troops to the land of Artsakh to capture the indignant Panah. However, when the enemy gathered its troops, Panah secured himself with his family in the fortress of Shushi. Avshar-khan [then] ordered his son to enter his regiment quickly into the fields of Artsakh, to join the meliks of Artsakh, and to attack Ibrahim-khan [Panah's son]. [Avshar] completely ravaged... [Panah's] land. Thus weakening Panah, he forced the latter to negotiate peace, [19/10] surrender his son Ibrahim as a hostage, and promise to pay his vassalage tax to the glorious Persian court. Gaining everyone's sympathy, Avshar-khan, supported by his neighbors' joy and after giving great presents to the Armenian meliks, sealed his friendship with them. Alas, what was the use of this, if the latter desired to end the Persian domination over the land of Artsakh completely?

Armenian year 1203 (1754).

18. On the War of Panah-khan against Melik Adam

After his defeat in the war and the surrender of his son to Avshar-khan as a hostage, Panah-khan seemed like a wounded beast. He wished to inject his poison into the Armenian meliks, for he was saying that it was their help and support that strengthened Avshar-khan, made him a tributary and his son a hostage. Therefore, he gathered soldiers and cavalry and with a massive army moved to the place called Mairakaghak¹¹⁷ to surround Melik Adam's palace in order to completely destroy the latter's dynasty. Adam, sensing this, hastened to enter the impregnable fortress of Jraberd, which was located in the deep gorge of Mount Mrav,¹¹⁸ and secured all the mem-

bers of his household, both his kin and servants, in this fortress. He himself with his troops then rapidly moved to the foot of Mount Mrav to lie in wait for the khan's arrival. He divided one half of the troops of his followers into two parts and placed them in ambush. Panah-khan with his army, 6,000 strong, approached the fortress and desired to lay siege to it so that later he would [be able to] take all [the defenders] as prisoners and move them with the booty to Persia, and from there either to banish them or to present them as precious gifts [*i.e.* as slaves] to the Persian khans and begs.

Thus engaging himself in these empty hopes, the young khan missed his target with great losses to himself, for [20] Melik Adam confronted Panah face to face and, surrounding his troops on all four sides from the ambush, began to kill them by the sword. At that moment Bishop Avag,¹¹⁹ whom they also called *Dali Mahrasats* [the madman of death], approached with his few troops and, put the rest of the enemy to sword, chasing them to the fortress of Shushi, striking them and nailing their corpses to the ground. Panah himself hardly managed to escape to Shushi. In the end, Melik Adam returned with great booty to his fortress of Jraberd.

19. Again on the War of Panah-khan against Melik Adam Armenian Year 1213 (1764)

During this same year Panah-khan, preoccupied with feelings of revenge against Melik Adam, began to prepare for a battle against him. He asked the khan of Elisu¹²⁰ for help so that the latter could gather an army composed of his mountaineers and bring it to the impassable gorge of Mrav and its formidable rocks. The khan of Elisu gave him 5,000 soldiers from his expeditionary troops with a demand that Panah should give him the half of the imprisoned population. Panah confidently agreed to fulfill this demand and with this large all-Lesguian horde moved toward Jermuk¹²¹ without knowing that it was weak lords rather than powerful armies who defeated one's own enemy. In keeping with his reputation for craftiness, Panah spread the news that with his horde he was heading to conquer the land of Gegham and, trying thus to cloud Melik Adam's mind, asked the latter to aid him with troops. Sensing all this, Melik Adam gave him a mildly negative reply and, as if he was unaware of the true nature of the request, in his answer told [Panah] that: "I can hardly manage with my small army to defend myself, mostly relying on the strength of the [21/11] mountains, especially from these cruel mountaineers

who are merciless and may cause damage even to their friends." In reality he put his army into an ambush inside the gorge and in the impregnable castle of Jraberd.

Panah, with his troops, approached the fortress acting as a friend and cordially invited Melik Adam to meet him, supposedly to discuss some important issues. Giving his princely attire to his servant, Adam made the latter descend from the castle and thus address the khan. The khan's men, being there at that moment and thinking that the servant was the melik himself, shot him down to the ground. Learning of Panah-khan's treachery, Melik Adam ordered his troops to attack the enemy's army out of their ambush, and slay and destroy them all right there and then, thus fulfilling his vengeance for his brother Ali Ghuli-sultan. Finally destroying the troops of the Les-guians and Persians, Melik Adam took their spoils and with great jubilation returned to his impregnable fortress in the gorge of the Tartar [River].

20. Panah's Death and Ibrahim's Rule in Shushi

After Nadir's death, Avshar Fathali-khan, who, having acquired many lands, had become powerful, keeping as hostage [Ibrahim-khan] the son of the khan of Karabagh, and having killed the brother of the so-called Karim-khan¹²² in the battle for Askeran, revolted by repressing his surroundings and tried to establish his authority in the Persian world. In the Armenian year 1214 [1765] Karim-khan waged a terrible war against Avshar-khan, wishing to take revenge for the blood of his brother, and therefore called Panah-khan to his aid. Panah-khan, being afraid of Avshar-khan, decided to wait for the right moment, and when that moment arrived, gathered his troops, forming a regiment, [22] and headed to Karim's aid, acting as an ally. The latter thus managed to surround the fortress and, causing a great discomfort, subdued Fathali-khan. He [Karim] released from prison Panah-khan's son Ibrahim and granted the latter a khan's honor, dispatching him to Karabagh. And to Panah he expressed his signs of gratitude, inviting Panah to Shiraz. However, the latter did not reach there, for becoming sick on the road, he died. They sent his coffin to Karabagh and buried it in his paternal cemetery.

21. About Ibrahim-khan

Ibrahim-khan, the son of Panah, having been released from his many sad sufferings by the hand of Karim-khan and then receiving

the title of khan, moved to Karabagh, and after his father's death in Shiraz he ruled in his father's domain with great pomp. Being stubborn, he did not obey the Persian shah and, thanks to his various tricks, became powerful. Befriending Nuskhal, the son of Omar-khan of Daghestan,¹²³ whose daughter he took in marriage, he achieved great victories against his enemies with the aid of this Omar's army. Always being in fear of the five meliks, he said: "If a house is divided, it will perish by itself. So first I need to subdue the meliks of Artsakh and then secure them as tributaries."

Thus their closest enemy cajoled the meliks, inviting them to conclude peace and to stop this incessant confrontation, stating that all the troubles caused to his father Panah-khan were quite enough. However, the Armenian meliks, being aware of this khan's cunning nature and foxy kindness and not wishing to surrender their nation's freedom and sovereignty to the demands of Ibrahim-khan, who got his powers through conniving, [23/12] replied as follows:

1. The issues of the well-being and the lives of our subjects cannot ever be in dependence upon your rule;
2. Our wealth and public taxes will stay in our treasury to raise and maintain our army;
3. It is not characteristic of us to war endlessly, and these wars are not coming from our conscience, but they depend on our will. To love peace, which you now demand, is the desire of our hearts that we [may] try to accomplish as our Savior's first command.

After this, Ibrahim saw that Melik Adam of Jraberd, Melik Joseph, the son of Igirmi, and Melik Isaiah of Dizak were not obeying his orders and decided again to appeal to his father's old allies, Melik Shahnazar [III] and Melik Ghahraman.¹²⁴ Melik Shahnazar, especially, was completely subjected to his will. Not quite satisfied from this type of closeness, Ibrahim also took Huri[zad], Melik Shahnazar's daughter, as his wife and thus became even more powerful. And as for Melik Shahnazar, he was constantly trying with his Muslim son-in-law to either shorten the lives of these three famous meliks or finally to end their princely power. This very fact later became the reason for the ruin of the land of Artsakh for the second time and the weakening of the power of the Armenian meliks.

22. The Origins of the Dynasty of Melik Joseph, the Lord of the State of Igirmidyord called Diutakan¹²⁵ in the Past

Melik Beglar, a son of Melik Isakhan, in turn a son of Melik Eavr,¹²⁶ from the kindred and generations of Siunik and Arran,¹²⁷ who, after the ravages committed in these countries, migrated to the village of Nij¹²⁸ situated in the foothills of the Zarghun¹²⁹ region in the deep gorges of the Great Caucasus, returned to his homeland to rule over his ancestral principality. To promote further his illustrious ancestry he became famous by writing a book in the Armenian year 1150 [A.D. 1702], [24]¹³⁰ which was adorned by the signature and seal of Isaiah, the bishop and catholicos of Aghuank [1702-1728]. He waged wars against the Ottomans and Persians, secured himself in the fortress of Giulistan,¹³¹ and together with its residents remained there undefeated. Dying early, he left behind two sons: Melik Teymuraz and Melik Abov.¹³²

Melik Abov kidnapped the beautiful daughter of the khan of Gandzak and having her baptized and Christened, he married her, from which marriage Melik Joseph was later born. Teymuraz [however] inherited the paternal principality. Soon he entered into the dependency of a Persian khan, thus becoming a vassal who was paying tribute to the great shah. Turning into an enemy of his brother's son Joseph, he demanded that the latter pay him tribute and become his serving vassal. Young Joseph asked to be freed from this injustice in memory of his father, but his pleas did not succeed. Joseph determined to flee from Artsakh to Persia, where he would [thus] establish his own livelihood.

At this time there was a Persian tax collector returning from Karabagh, who carried in his train numerous treasures. He was hurrying to the land of Persia [when] Joseph decided that it was the right time to seize these treasures and he passed along his plan to Bishop Avag, who was the only one among the men of his time worthy of the fame of his illustrious and brave ancestors. However, Avag was very displeased with this plan. And thus Joseph, along with four servants, moved against this tax-collecting khan to the vicinity of the Tartar River, known in the past as *Tartuyan* or *Tartu*. The unsuspecting khan tried to send thankful greetings to the high-ranking traveler. Joseph asked to approach the khan, having directed his servants to be on alert and [25/13] wait for his orders. He gave them two passwords: one was *dzeket*, which meant "to behead", and the other was *meket*, which meant "to stay calm." When they approached the

bridge over the Tartar River, the servants yelled from there, “Lord is it *dzeket* or *meket*?” And young Joseph, according to the word, answered them “*meket*.” Some time having passed, they entered the gorge of the Tartar River. Suddenly crying “*dzeket*” young Joseph attacked the khan and with one thrust deprived him of his life, turning his troops into a chaos of uproar by killing some and forcing others to run. Thus obtaining the tax treasures of the land collected by the khan, Joseph returned to his stronghold of Giulistan, which was near [the] Greater Mrav [range] in a mountainous terrain.

Thereafter, he gathered strong swordsmen and securing himself in the fortress of Giulistan began a war against his uncle. Joseph took his uncle prisoner, and after many deserving words, he proved the injustice of his uncle’s deeds and then turning the latter into a serving vassal had him killed. He himself began to rule over his ancestral principality, thus creating fears for the Persian monarchy that wished to destroy him, but young Joseph would always end victorious, soundly defeating the Persian army. He had behind him the support of the great cleric Avag whom they called *Dali Mahrasa*. Having secured his nation’s victories and [demonstrating] courage against the Persians and the mountaineers, Melik Joseph died [1775] and was buried in St. Elisaeus¹³³ the Disciple, the main church of Horek,¹³⁴ leaving his power to his son Melik Beglar II.

[26] 23. The Migration of Melik Adam and Melik Joseph to Gandzak

The two meliks saw that Ibrahim had become Melik Shahnazar’s son-in-law. The latter [Melik Shahnazar III], to preserve his personal freedom, not even fearful of everlasting disgrace, gave his daughter to Ibrahim-khan, asking him to treacherously kill his fellow-countrymen, the meliks. For this reason, with a large crowd of servants and household members, the two meliks left Artsakh for Gandzak and decided to settle [either] in the Shamkhor valley or Shamkhor city,¹³⁵ itself, which in the old times they used to call Vahramashen.¹³⁶ When Ibrahim-khan saw that a large population, together with the two meliks had disappeared, he gathered an army and attacked them by reaching the vicinity of Giulistan River¹³⁷ with the purpose of either turning them back or completely massacring them. However, Ibrahim proved to be an unsuccessful youth, for the two meliks from the right flank and Bishop Avag from the left attacked the khan’s army with great vigor and turned his troops into distress, putting many to the sword and later throwing the other half

into a deep ravine to destroy them completely and to soak the swords again with their blood. Taking a large booty, they [the meliks] returned to their armies and fearlessly charged for Shamkhor.

24. Again on the War of Ibrahim-khan against the Armenian Meliks

The daring attack of the Armenian meliks that fully defeated Ibrahim-khan, surprised him greatly, putting him into an immeasurable rage. He fell into a dark reverie and his spirit turned bitter. He was releasing balls of steaming envy, as from the oven of hell. To sweeten his bitterness he wrote to Omar-khan and requested him to send to his aid a large regiment of mountaineers, and also he incited Shahverdi-khan of Gandzak¹³⁸ saying “Beware of the deeds of these two [27/14] Armenian meliks, both foreigners to you. Do you see in what trouble they put you, fastening the chains given to you by the Georgian king Teymuraz?” With similar treacherous words he would turn others as well against the two meliks. Afterwards he gathered a large army and moved toward Shamkhor, spreading false news that he was heading to the land of Gegham to collect dues from the tent [*i.e.* nomadic—RHH] Kurds. But the Armenian meliks, sensing his real intent, moved their population to the other side of the valley and then, themselves, took over that part of the gorge where the road passed and waited for Ibrahim’s arrival.

Using every possible trick to weaken the Armenian meliks’ vigilance, Ibrahim-khan went to the land of Gegham to collect his tribute from the Kurds. There, he gathered prisoners and booty and then wished to turn toward Gandzak. But Ibrahim’s men had also imprisoned the personal servants¹³⁹ of the meliks, which made the meliks heartily angry with Ibrahim-khan. Like a hurricane, they attacked Ibrahim’s army and put many to the sword, turning the rest to flight. Fleeing, Ibrahim’s troops dropped from their hands the prisoners and the booty, and the meliks took over one thousand people from the khan’s army as prisoners and led them to Shamkhor. And after this great victory, the meliks, with the greater number of their troops, descended to Shamkhor and there continued to build and develop the land.

25. On Shahverdi-khan’s Death and Mekhitar Kalantar’s Move

An Armenian *kalantar*¹⁴⁰ named Mekhitar resided in an inaccessible locale called Gharamurad¹⁴¹ situated in the land of Utik near the Gardman region. In the days of Nadir-shah, Mekhitar was be-

stowed with princely honors and dignity and was the lord of the land in those regions. However, after Nadir-shah's death [1747] Shahverdi-khan of Gandzak began to look upon him with an evil eye. Sensing this, Mekhitar wished to move to the court of King Teymuraz in [28] Georgia. These rumors reached Shahverdi-khan through the efforts of the residents of Gharamurad. By taking some men and women from the land of Mekhitar as hostages, Shahverdi thus tried to weaken Mekhitar's heart and then demanded the enchantingly beautiful daughter of the latter for his wife in an attempt to create a blood relation with the above mentioned Mekhitar. He sent a letter to Mekhitar with this demand. This letter deeply wounded Mekhitar's dignity, but fearing to give a negative reply to the khan, he promised to fulfill the wish of the latter. However, when the Georgian ambassador arrived to talk with Shahverdi-khan, Mekhitar had a separate conversation with this ambassador and asked for help from the Georgian king. The ambassador promised to dispatch quickly an armed regiment from the town of the Khevsurs¹⁴² situated near the so-called "broken bridge" over the Khram River.¹⁴³

Learning this, Mekhitar rushed to go there with the crowd of his household members and servants. Shahverdi-khan then gathered his troops and stubbornly desired to have Mekhitar's daughter for his wife. Alas, the very same night, he was stabbed by his Armenian servant. Thus, Mekhitar *kalantar* as well as his populace, who was taken hostage, escaped Shahverdi-khan's cruel sword that threatened them so closely and Mekhitar, with the crowd of his people, moved to Georgia and settled there. There, his descendants attained dignified honors under the surname *Kalantar*.

26. The Return of the Meliks to their Homeland

As much as one's father is dear to a person, so is one's homeland. That is why they, the meliks, could not stay for long in the Bolnis valley, which was called Tashir in olden days. With the crowd of their household members and servants they again relocated near the ruins of Shamkhor on the bank of the Arek River¹⁴⁴ and from there they were making great strikes against Ibrahim-khan's headquarters causing death and capturing prisoners. It was said [by their enemies] that they were causing much depopulation in the land of Artsakh. Ibrahim-khan after numerous efforts, understanding that he could not defeat the meliks, for he was weakened, asked Javad-khan¹⁴⁵ to intercede on his behalf and make the meliks humble themselves to

peace, especially when he saw that other Armenians [29/15] also, both secretly and openly, took the above mentioned meliks' side, and the land of Artsakh was being deserted. The prominent melik of Jraberd,¹⁴⁶ surrendering to the intercessor's pleas and entreaties, returned to Artsakh with his household and servants to govern freely his own principality. After this, the land of Artsakh began to blossom in the hands of the brave Armenian cultivators. Like the valuable ornaments of a bride's beauty was the land of Artsakh adorned with their scythes and cudgels. Meanwhile [Ibrahim-] khan demonstrated signs of false affection and waited for the right time [to strike].

27. On the Personal Written Petition of the Armenian Meliks to Catherine, the Empress of Russia

Melik Adam and Melik Joseph saw that it was impossible to extinguish the envy from the heart of Ibrahim. Although on the surface he was demonstrating good will, while alone in his thoughts, he was secretly waiting for the right time to destroy the Armenian melikdoms. For this very reason they [the meliks] joined John Hasan-Jalaliants, the Armenian catholicos of Aghuank, and in the year 1780, by a personal letter, expressed their concerns to Catherine, the Russian tsarina, presenting before her the unbearable situation that was imposed on them by the Persians. Thus, they asked for her support and intercession in the name of Christ, who by His Blood had aided the oppressed and joined everyone under one "catholic"¹⁴⁷ church. They received the letter of her reply in 1781 filled with many great promises, among them a promise that at the closest opportunity the Russian banner, with the Lord's aid, would spread its wings for the protection of the Armenian people. The empress transmitted this written promise through Gregory Potemkin¹⁴⁸ and his eminence Joseph Archbishop Arghutian.¹⁴⁹

The meliks received the Russian empress' most blessed writ and then, using this good, emerging opportunity, decided to restore the long lost throne of the Armenian kingdom. [30] Therefore, they wrote a charter [called the] *Dashnagir*,¹⁵⁰ filled with their petitions, and again dispatched it to the empress through the aid of Gregory Potemkin and his eminence Archbishop Joseph, sealing beforehand the written text of the *Dashnagir* with the signatures of John, the catholicos of Aghuank, Melik Adam, Melik Abov, Daniel-Yuzbashi¹⁵¹ and many other notables. Much more time having passed, in the month of June, 1782, they received a reply with many hopeful words

and calls for patience.

But what was the use of the ardent love between the two nations and the kindred adoration toward a Christian sovereign when the latter was delaying incessantly the provision of her aid? For this reason they again gathered for a conference and wrote their requests to the Russian empress, pushing her to establish her reign over the benevolent land of Armenia and to save the Christians there inhabiting, who with hope constantly waited for her aid. This petition was signed by Melik Mejlum, Melik Adam, Melik Bakhtam,¹⁵² and Melik Aram¹⁵³ and it was dispatched through Fathers Gabriel and Daniel.¹⁵⁴

28. The Treaty of the Meliks

THE MELIK ALLIANCE CHARTER (*MELIKATS DASHNAGIR*)¹⁵⁵

1. First of all, we affirm love and unity between two nations who do not have differences between themselves: neither the Russians in our faith and church, nor we on theirs, for the faith of the love of Christ cannot be possible other than by considering one another as one entity born out of the same faith and Church. For this reason we agreed to involve the Church, giving it a special role, so that it could neutralize any disagreements that might arise between us, for we both believe in the blessed Holy Trinity and the Word of our God the Savior, which man must fulfill, and also in the suffering, which was always for the sake of faith, belief and other such things that formed the foundation of any Christian nation, all of these being beyond common human comprehension. [31/16]

2. *Let it be known that any disobedient adversary* in the midst of our two nations shall be considered a mudslinger and a disturber of love and peace.

3. *All of those Muslims and pagans* who will profess the faith of the Armenian nation and be baptized by it, and all those who will leave their temptations and by their own will submit to the Christian canons, shall be considered followers of Christianity like all others.

4. *The two kingdoms* are hereby tied by a great permanent alliance.

5. *The Russian army* will be stationed in Armenia in reasonable numbers to insure the defenses of our nation and to deter the kings of the Persians and Ottomans, thereby securing heirs to our kingdom to be confirmed by the Russian Emperor.

6. *We shall become subjects* in the same manner as we were previously under the Greeks¹⁵⁶ and Persians,¹⁵⁷ by paying the imperial court taxes and tributes from the gold and silver mines [here] and by helping and supporting each other as much as possible in time of war.

7. *As long as the Blessed and August Empress* wills to provide aid to our tormented land and wills to restore the lost Armenian crown, the choice of our king shall always depend on her will on condition that the one so chosen shall be from our nation and shall be a loyal member of her court.

8. *The confirmed king* shall be of the Armenian canon [*i.e.* church law] and shall be anointed in the royal town of Vagharshapat [now] Holy Echmiatsin,¹⁵⁸ like all our previous kings.

9. *The royal capital* shall be [either] in Vagharshapat, or in the royal city of Ani,¹⁵⁹ or in any other such suitable place in the province of Ararat.

10. *The Equestrian Order* shall be represented by Noah's Ark, and its banner shall consist of three colors: red, green and blue, like those rainbow colors that appeared after the flood to great Noah as a sign of God's Peace.

11. *If another symbol is established for the Equestrian Order*, let it be for the Holy Illuminator,¹⁶⁰ with his image and the image of his right hand.¹⁶¹

[32] 12. *Let also Christ's Sign*, the first-image cloth¹⁶² that was sent to our King Abgar¹⁶³ and gave him the victories, be worn as a symbol on red neck ribbons.¹⁶⁴

13. *The royal seal* shall be adopted according to the custom of our previous kings, *i.e.* these are the one-headed eagle of the Arshakuni¹⁶⁵ used prior to the adoption of Christianity and the Lamb of God added after the adoption of Christianity, as well as the two-headed eagle of Lesser Armenia,¹⁶⁶ and these too shall adorn the banners and coins of our kings.

14. *If from the old houses of our nakharars*¹⁶⁷ and *princes* certain persons came forward and are able to attest their lineage and prove their patrimonial right to their ancestral land, it should be returned to them, and they should be restored in their nakharar's dynastic dignity.¹⁶⁸

15. *After the restoration of our nation's statehood* the princes shall not have serfs whom they may freely sell to each other. Instead it should be the way it has been before, during the times of our kings,

and also as it is now under the Ottomans and Persians, who merely rule over their servants [but do not own them]. When the king wishes to grant a certain prince certain property, he will grant the village with its residents. The grateful prince then may sell the village with its residents, but not the residents themselves, to a melik [in his capacity] as the lord of land and water, upon which the people may then labor. Once upon a time, during the reign of king Anak Arshakuni,¹⁶⁹ the Greeks conquered us and wanted to turn us into personal servants of their princes. But our people did not agree to this and instead submitted to the power of the caliph¹⁷⁰ of Baghdad, for we remained free because of this.

16. *As for trade*, there shall be established a law between the two kingdoms, and then against each item of trade there shall be implemented a tax that shall be levied at a port of the Caspian Sea.

17. *For the escaped soldiers and subjects* there shall be a law, also there shall be a law of admission for Russian princes and aristocrats, as well as [33/17] distinguished persons of our nation.

18. The choice of our catholicos will be by the suggestion of our king, and then the catholicos shall be elected by the entire nation.

19. Because the illustrious Gregory Alexandrovich Potemkin is the special guardian of our nation, appointed by the wish of the blessed empress as the governor of the affairs of our nation, he is now the special guardian and benefactor who governs by the blessed grace of the benevolent empress, and it is through his benefices that these ideas arose in our midst, like God's throne passed on to humans through His angels.

[End of the *Dashnagir*]

29. The Return of the Relic of St. Gregory's Right [hand] to Echmiatsin

A bishop from Turkey whose name was Luke was traveling to Echmiatsin when, becoming sick and near death, he met Catholicos John of Aghuank, who was accompanied by the presiding Archbishop Balthasar of [the monastery of] Amaras. Bishop Luke, having in his possession the relic of St. Gregory's right hand, wished to deliver it to the Holy See of Echmiatsin. Bishop Luke paid a visit to Balthasar and in secret gave him the Holy Right [Arm] asking that the latter deliver it to Catholicos John of Aghuank. The archbishop of Amaras did not say anything to the catholicos, but wished to keep

the relic secretly in order to take it with himself to the Amaras monastery. He had managed to take possession of the relic from the sick Bishop Luke before the return of the catholicos of Aghuank. But the rumor [of the transaction] spread as by the voice of a herald and reached Echmiatsin. Catholicos Simon¹⁷¹ called the bishop to his presence and inspected the veracity of the rumor. Bishop Luke related in detail as to what were the circumstances.

Catholicos Simon, in order to restore the holy relic of the hand to Holy Echmiatsin, wrote to Catholicos John of Aghuank and ordered the delivery of the hand, which had been snatched from Bishop Luke. Catholicos John [X], being unaware of all the foulness that had passed, finally learnt that Archbishop Balthasar had taken it to Amaras and insisted that the latter bring the hand to him so that they would deliver it from there to Holy Echmiatsin. However, Balthasar, having behind him the support of Melik Shahnazar [III], resisted the catholicos' order and refused to return the relic.

[34] Becoming helpless, the catholicos of Aghuank asked Ibrahim-khan to return the hand relic to Holy Echmiatsin through his intercession. Ibrahim-khan agreed to interfere only on condition that after the relic traveled to Holy Etchmiatsin it would be returned to Amaras. Thus, through the efforts of the aforementioned Catholicos John, Melik Shahnazar finally consented to deliver St. Gregory's right hand to Catholicos John and the latter dispatched it to Holy Echmiatsin.

30. The Return of St. Gregory's Right [Hand] Relic from Gandzasar to Amaras

Before the deadline for the return from Holy Echmiatsin of St. Gregory's hand was coming to a close, Melik Shahnazar [III] emphatically demanded its return from his guarantor Ibrahim-khan, and Ibrahim wrote twice to Catholicos John and asked [him] to send the hand to the monastery of Amaras. Catholicos John, pretending that he did not understand the nature of the request, returned the khan's messenger to Holy Echmiatsin empty-handed to Shushi, writing back miscellaneous irrelevant messages. Furious, the khan gathered a regiment and headed for the monastery of Gandzasar¹⁷² and took St. Gregory's right [hand] by force, thrusting his knife into Archbishop Sergius¹⁷³ and leaving him to bleed almost to death. Then, collecting a fine of 400 tumans¹⁷⁴ [from Gandzasar], he finally delivered the right hand to Melik Shahnazar and the latter dispatched it to the

monastery of Amaras. Now [ca. 1826] the relic is kept in the church of the city of Shushi.

31. The Passing of Catholicos John Hasan-Jalaliants

After the deaths of two prominent meliks, Adam [11, Israeliants, 1761-1780/82] and Joseph [I, Beglariants, 1728-1775], a spying traitor went and informed Ibrahim-khan about the writ of the Armenian meliks addressed to the Russian empress and inviting her to reign over the land of Artsakh and about the receipt of her reply to this [35/18] petition which addressed some particulars of the acts. Thus betraying Catholicos Hasan-Jalaliants, the spy further informed [Ibrahim] that the said petition was very much like the one written by Isaiah, Nerves, and Catholicos Simon, who were the allies of the Russian state and who in their own petition narrated the state of affairs in the land of Artsakh and in reply receiving letters thanking them for their loyalty, this being the case in 1724, 1726 and 1768.¹⁷⁵ He also said that the aforementioned writ was prepared and dispatched with the intent of overthrowing [Persian] rule in the country with the help of Russian aid. At that point, while listening to this, Ibrahim-khan went mad, filled his heart with hatred and changed the color of his face, for he had had this bitter feeling in his head for quite some time and he now resolved to pour his heart's anger onto the heads of Catholicos John [X, r. 1763-1786] and Melik Isaiah Eganiants' [1747-1781].

Therefore, under the pretext of a friendly encounter, he captured Melik Isaiah and hanged him, then ordered his entire family slain. Two of his relatives out of fear of death denied their faith, became Muslims, and only thus obtained their ancestral heritage.¹⁷⁶ Next, Ibrahim-khan, after applying various terrible tortures, killed poor Catholicos John by poison [1786], ravaged and robbed the monastery of Gandzasar of all of its movable and immovable property, and finally dispersed its brotherhood reducing all to the status of common people. He had violently tortured the relatives of the aforementioned catholicos in a dark prison for nine months and twenty-four days. Crushing, by relentlessly hitting with a wooden club, the toes of the feet of Bishop Sergius, who later became catholicos [of Aghuank], he forced the latter to show him the letter addressed to the Russian empress, saying that otherwise "I will destroy your entire family and send your women from here to the depths of Persia." However, knowing that if they showed the said writ they would die for sure,

[36] they started a fire and secretly burnt the message, and thereafter, no longer stuttering in fear, courageously declared that there was no such message in their possession.

The khan had searched as long as he could but did not find anything. At last he achieved satisfaction by receiving 56,000 tumans in fine from the monastery of Gandzasar, and then released bishop Sergius and his relatives from prison. Ibrahim ordered them to go wherever they wished and dispatched a message of condolences to Catholicos Simon [I] in memory of the late Catholicos John. He entrusted the new Catholicos Israel¹⁷⁷ to go and take his seat, not, however, in Gandzasar but in Erits Mankants (the monastery of the Slain Innocents),¹⁷⁸ and with this authority conduct there his spiritual affairs.

32. On Hardships incurred by the Catholicosate of Gandzasar

The eminent Gregory Hasan-Jalaliants,¹⁷⁹ [abbot of Gandzasar], not having in his own dynasty any ready [kindred] person for the dignity of catholicos [of Aghuank], admitted and adopted Bishop Peter [1653]¹⁸⁰ and, during his old age, consecrated the latter as catholicos and entrusted to him his brother [Balthasar]'s two minor sons [Jeremiah and Aristakes],¹⁸¹ [Here follows the continuation of this passage found on page 26 of the ms.]:¹⁸² so that one of them could [one day] be consecrated as catholicos of the land of Aghuank.

Meanwhile Catholicos Peter [of Echmiatsin] had perished [1675] and he [Catholicos James IV of New Julfa]¹⁸³ thought it unsuitable to appoint a minor as catholicos. Thus, having no choice, [he] anointed Bishop Simon of Khotorashen¹⁸⁴ [as anti-catholicos] and [then] passed away himself [1675]. And, when the nephew of the late Catholicos Gregory Hasan-Jalaliants, whom they called Jeremiah, grew up, the populace of Artsakh elected him a bishop and asked Catholicos, James of Shamakhi,¹⁸⁵ who once was the abbot of the Gandzasar monastery, to consecrate Bishop Jeremiah for the catholicosate, for the latter was the heir apparent of the [ecclesiastical] throne [of Aghuank]. Catholicos James yielded to the request of the meliks and, anointing Jeremiah [as] catholicos [1676], sent him to Gandzasar. And Simon, moving to the deep gorge of the Mrav Mountain, in a suitable locale laid the foundation of a [new] monastery devoted to the memory of the three children martyred during the reign of the Persian Shah Suleiman in the Armenian year 1140 (*ca.* 1691). Thus began the adversity between the catholicosate of

Aghuank and the [other] catholicos at the seat of Erits Mankants monastery.¹⁸⁶

When a relative of His Eminence Simon of Khotorashen, his eminence [Catholicos] Nerses,¹⁸⁷ found his peace with our Lord, the people of Artsakh asked His Eminence [Catholicos] Simon of Echmiatsin [1763-1780] to appoint a new catholicos. And Catholicos Simon, finding this possible, wrote a [51] decree, which was approved by the seals of one hundred and twenty archbishops, bishops and meliks¹⁸⁸ in the year 1235 (*ca.* 1786),¹⁸⁹ and, at length, criticizing the motives of the opponents [*i.e.* the lords of the Erits Mankants monastery—VA], he declared about the foundation of the catholicosate of Aghuank and ordered them [again, the brethren of the Erits Mankants monastery—VA] to recognize the beginning of the illumination of the land of Aghuank by the Apostle Elisaeus,¹⁹⁰ to acknowledge the local seat as established by Grigoris,¹⁹¹ the son of Vrtanes¹⁹² and grandson of St. Gregory the Illuminator, and finally to submit to his episcopal see (at Echmiatsin) which was the throne of Great Gregory the Parthian¹⁹³ [St. Gregory the Illuminator].

He also said that the catholicoi of Gandzasar were obliged to be loyal to the Holy See of Echmiatsin as the seat of their holy father and pope¹⁹⁴ and confirmed by a decree the power of John Hasan-Jalaliants as the catholicos of the lands, whose rule now extended to [the domain of—KVK] power-thirsty Israel [the bishop of Erits Mankants and anti-catholicos of Aghuank, 1763-1765] as well as all Armenians and Armenian sons populating all Aghuank.¹⁹⁵ For it was by the efforts of Grigoris that the princely house had remained firm. And whoever thinks that the nation of the Aghuans established this catholicosate, let him go to the land of Persia, since the entire race of the Aghuans went to Kabul and turned Muslim.¹⁹⁶

With this decree, Catholicos John came to Aghuank and conducted his affairs. Israel [however] rejected the decree and remained in the Erits Mankants monastery. However, after the meliks had written to the Russian emperor [Tsar Paul, r. 1796-1801], Ibrahim-khan plotted the murder of Catholicos John, because the latter was instrumental in dictating the postulates of this letter, and forbade any member of the Hasan-Jalaliants house to rule or conduct affairs as a catholicos of Aghuank. Thus, Ibrahim-khan dispatched this decree of Catholicos Simon to Catholicos Israel and ordered the latter to conduct those affairs.

[End of passage retrieved from page 26]¹⁹⁷

[Here follows a Passage retrieved from p. 27]¹⁹⁸

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33. On the Move of Melik Mejlum and Melik Abov to Georgia

Ibrahim-khan, after he had damaged Gandzasar and collected the booty, and after he had killed Catholicos John [of Aghuank, 1763-1786] and Melik Isaiah [Hasan-Jalaliants, k. 1786?] for writing a letter to the Russian empress, decided to pour the remnants of his bitter hatred onto the heads of the other Armenian meliks. In this regard, he secretly prepared a great [and] cunning plot. He simultaneously invited two meliks to his place, so that he could kill both at the dinner table. Melik Adam, who for some time had not been to the town of Shushi, sensed Ibrahim-khan's trap. For this reason, he went there armed with his bodyguards and apologized, saying that he could not stay at this reception, and, exiting with great courage, returned to his home. Ibrahim-khan listened to this and said nothing. On his way home Melik Adam came across Melik Mejlum, who, having also received the same invitation, was going to Shushi. Melik Adam informed him of Ibrahim-khan's cunning plot and made him turn [back] as well.

Thus, understanding Ibrahim-khan's intent to attack his invited guests, they wisely concluded that it had become impossible for them to remain in Karabagh, surrounded with suspicions. For this reason they migrated with their households and servants to the city of Tiflis. There, reaching King Heracles,¹⁹⁹ they pleaded for asylum and a guarantee of safety for their lives [53] from this king and then asked him to either accompany them in arms to topple the Persian power of Ibrahim-khan, or to help all Armenians of Karabagh to migrate to Georgia.

Heracles, after listening with care to their words, promised to fulfill their request. However, some time thereafter, he accepted an enormous gift from Ibrahim-khan attached to a letter in which the latter asked the Georgian king to send back these two Armenian meliks in chains. Due to the absence of these two Armenian meliks, Ibrahim-khan was in the constant state of fear that at a ripe moment the Armenian meliks might try, by arming themselves as well as they could, to completely topple his rule. Receiving this letter and the gift from the khan of Karabagh, King Heracles, either persuaded by the gift or by his own fear, intended to dispatch the two meliks to Kara-

bagh. Learning of this from some reliable locals, the meliks had to leave Tiflis and rush to Gandzak to Javad-khan, to remain there safely and to make their revenge against Ibrahim-khan. Javad-khan received them with joy and set a handsome allowance for their needs. Although Ibrahim tried through different means to snatch the meliks from Javad's hands as well, Javad kept the meliks safe, having the decency of not turning them in to Ibrahim-khan.

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34. On the Coming of Metropolitan Sergius to Gandzak from Karabagh

After things settled down, the Armenian meliks of the city of Gandzak learned about the unbearable sufferings of the Hasan-Jalaliants family in Karabagh and about the abolition of that house's catholicosate. Therefore, as per Javad's order, they wrote a letter to Metropolitan Sergius and invited him to come to the city of Gandzak and conduct his spiritual affairs over the local Armenians. The metropolitan, considering this an opportune time, fled with his relatives to Javad-khan. Ibrahim, learning of this, managed to act quickly, sending his Persian troops to destroy by massacre Sergius and his relatives. Nonetheless they were supported by the high mountains of the Greater Mrav [range] and saved from total destruction by the Persian troops by the thick fog that had descended over these regions. Thus Sergius and his kin safely reached Gandzak, although there indeed took place a short skirmish between the two sides. Finally, after Sergius came to Gandzak, Javad benevolently established a rich allowance for him and ordered him to conduct his spiritual affairs over the local Armenians. At the same time, Ibrahim appointed Bishop Israel, the spiritual leader of the Apostle Elisaeus Monastery, as the catholicos of the house of Aghuank [1763-1765].

Enraged by this, Melik Mejlum and Javad-khan, in opposition to this, anointed Metropolitan Sergius over the house of Aghuank, the latter being the catholicos of the city of Gandzak, and then together wrote a petition to Simon, the catholicos of all Armenians [1763-1780], and asked him to confirm him [Sergius] as the catholicos of the house of Aghuank. Learning of their joint determination, Catholicos Simon was prepared to write a decree, but decided to wait for the decision of the entire population of Karabagh. Against his own expectations, he received a writ from the Armenian council of Karabagh, which said that ex-Catholicos Simon of Aghuank was still

alive, that the news of his death was false, and that they would never agree again to the anointing of Sergius as a catholicos. After this, the noise of this disagreement increased among the people, [55] who inhabited Karabagh and Gandzak, as well as between the two anti-catholicoi, till Simon died [1780]. After that, Sergius was appointed to power by a decree as the catholicos of that region and conducted his spiritual affairs under the auspice of his metropolitan's office.

35. [Letter to the Georgian King Teymuraz from the Aghuan anti-Catholicos Nerves V, 1706-1763]

"To you Teymuraz, king of the Georgians, crowned by Christ and anointed by the Spirit, also known as Heracles,²⁰⁰ by the power of God, to the most courageous khan [of Georgia],

To the heir of royal and prophetic dynasty, to the virtuous and benevolent issue of God's beloved paternal Holy Tree, to the most industrious and wisely serene, to the most victorious and righteous one over his enemies, to the above mentioned,

I, Nerves, the humble servant of Christ and by His Will the catholicos and patriarch of Armenian Aghuank, am rendering my blessings inspired by God the Father, the Virgin born Son and Love of the Holy Spirit, along with many longings and wishes, and hereby attest on the matter of the...

[the rest of this passage is missing from this letter]

36. The Advance of the Armenian Meliks

Learning that Melik Abov and Melik Mejlum had gone to Gandzak, the populace of Artsakh²⁰¹ grew tired of Ibrahim-khan's immoral acts and tyranny, and they too became exiles from their homeland and went to them [the meliks]. Thus growing stronger, the meliks, along with their troops and having as their military leaders the heroic Arzuman²⁰² and the brave Melkon,²⁰³ began to attack and oppress the land of Artsakh by sword and taking prisoners. Ibrahim, unable to resist their daring attacks, became weak and pleaded for peace. However, the Armenian meliks, absolutely refusing to believe Ibrahim-khan's deceitful words and, moreover, considering these pleadings [to be] false, scorched and ravaged the land of Artsakh, and left the bridge [over the] Tartar almost deprived of its users.²⁰⁴ Weakened, Ibrahim feared the attacks of brave Arzuman and

Melkon, and moved the population of Jraberd to Dizak. He also uprooted and moved the inhabitants of Igirmidord²⁰⁵ to Khachen.

Then he called to his presence Sergius, Arzuman's father, and ordered him to persuade his son, brave Arzuman,²⁰⁶ to cease his evil deeds, for he had ravaged and turned the land of Artsakh upside down and the river bridge of Tartar was longing for the crossings of both men and animals. Sergius with high courage answered, "khan, I do not have a son, and I have never given life to a child". Surprised, the khan repeated, "Sergius, is he not your son, that bloodthirsty Arzuman, who turned our land to ruin?" Sergius then said, "Live long, khan! You said [the continuation is on page 19] [37/19]...about the bridge over the Tartar River that provides passage to humans and animals alike. If it depended on my will, then, my son would ruin not only the Tartar Bridge, but also the entrance gate to the Shushi fortress." He was released by the astonished khan and remained in his tent until the return of Melik Abov to the land of Artsakh.

37. Arzuman's Question to Imam Akhund

Once upon a time, Arzuman spotted [on the road] a Muslim imam whose name was Akhund and asked him whether Christ was or was not God. Akhund, feeling himself in peril, said, in spite of the *Qur'an*, "He is God." Arzuman forced him to repeat this two or three times, and thereafter let him go unharmed. Ibrahim, having learnt of all of this, called Akhund to his presence and wished to try the latter publicly and sentence him to death,²⁰⁷ asking how he dared to declare against the *Qur'an* that Christ was God and then shamelessly repeat this three times. Akhund answered thus, "Forgive me but I said that Christ was God in front of Arzuman, who makes the whole of Karabagh tremble. And if the same had happened to you and you had met Arzuman at that very spot, you would have declared not only Christ, who was at least a prophet according to the *Qur'an*, as God but [would have] deified the brave Arzuman himself." Hearing this unexpected answer, the khan was surprised and, considering this to be true, released the Muslim.

38. On the Return of Melik Abov to Karabagh

From ancient times evil, envy, and disunion has characterized the Armenian nation, and due to this our experienced and wise nation very often fell under the yoke of foreign powers. The Armenians know how to destroy the power of their unbeatable union, and the

affair between two meliks, Abov and Mejlum, may serve as an example of this.

Mejlum was a serious and wise man with a sharp and healthy conscience, and Abov was strong and courageous, glorious and undefeated in [38] battle. Javad-khan respected Melik Mejlum more than Melik Abov, [however] first of all for the words of genius and constructive thinking of the former, and secondly, because Melik Abov was trying to move with his subjects to Georgia again. Moreover, Melik Abov was one of the authors of the latest writ inviting the Russian empress and was more vigorous in protecting his ancestral laws.²⁰⁸ For this reason, Javad-khan saw him as an obstacle [to his plans].

Melik Abov, thinking that he could solve this with reason, on the date of [the onset of] Lent went to Javad-khan, where he observed Melik Mejlum feasting on Javad-khan's meals [which was] prohibited by the laws of our faith. Thereupon, [Melik Abov] suddenly rose from the table and using some harsh words offended the fastidious Melik Mejlum, calling him an enemy of [our] ancestral laws, faithless rather than godly, and this became the reason for the quarrel between the two Meliks. Although Javad-khan honestly tried to keep Melik Abov in the city of Gandzak as long as he could, he failed and in consequence Melik Abov, with his subjects, moved to Bolnis [in Georgia]. However, after many pleading requests from Ibrahim-khan, he wished to return to Karabagh. In 1795 he left Bolnis for Erevan, reached Echmiatsin in October, and from there traveled to Shushi. Ibrahim-khan met him with high honors and merry feasts of wine, thinking that in the land of Artsakh from now on the various feuds would calm down and the country would gradually prosper and blossom.

39. The Coming of Agha-Mahmad-khan to Karabagh

After the death of Nadir-shah [1747] there was an upheaval in the Persian land. Several lords desired to obtain the [royal] power, also some bordering Persian and Georgian tributary khans revolted against the [central] government wishing to become independent. And after the death of Jand-Karim-khan,²⁰⁹ [39/20] Agha-Mahmad-khan, who was the son of Qajar-Mahmad-Hasan-khan²¹⁰ and who was a hostage in the region of Shiraz,²¹¹ managed to escape and seize the power over the Persian land. He declared the city of Tehran the capital in the year 1176 [1727].²¹² Thereafter, he entered the land of Atrpatakan, singularly

capturing the northern bank of the Arax River, then moved to the northern parts of the same river, trying to obtain the rule over the lands of Talysh²¹³ and Erevan,²¹⁴ and made wars in different directions. However, he could not capture those lands. And, when by first sending Ibrahim-khan gifts he invited the former to submit to his rule and expressed friendliness, he was eventually forced to return to Atpatakan in order to rule the country from there, for again the upheavals and animosity resumed. Finally, Agha-Mahmad-khan returned to Shiraz and by pure luck stopped there the chaos and hostilities.

Then, almost twenty years later he departed from Shiraz with a great army and entered Atpatakan in order to rule over the lands of Georgia, Artsakh, Talysh, and Erevan and to submit their renegade autonomous khans to Persian rule. Learning this, Ibrahim-khan sent a messenger to Georgia, Erevan and Talysh establishing an alliance and a pact with them so that by gaining power together against Mahmad-shah, they would block his entrance to the [above-] named lands and thus avoid his yoke of paying tribute. Thereafter, Ibrahim sent some of the populace of Karabagh to Georgia and some to Shirvan; some [others] took refuge in the deep gorges and strongholds of the land of Artsakh. Then he took the other half with rich provisions to Kert²¹⁵ and built there his defenses. He then thought of [the assistance of] two meliks, Abov and Jumshud. He [then] ordered the army to get ready for a battle.

[40] After the passage of some time, Agha-Mahmad-shah reached the fortress of Shushi and ordered his army to attack it. A brutal battle ensued. However, facing a fierce resistance, he resorted to a siege and, after thirty-three days, sent an inciting letter to Ibrahim-khan that approximately had the following content: "From a clash with the sky stones are falling on the crowds. And you, oh deafened one, have merely imprisoned yourself in a glass castle."

Ibrahim, after he received and read this letter, wrote the following on the other side of the same paper, "My defender is known to be firm enough to keep the glass from breaking." Receiving this unexpected answer, Mahmad-shah grew angry and mad and ordered to reduce the city to ruin by fiercely firing from canons. Although he tried this many times, the shah did not succeed, and his army suffered many losses. Moreover, the winter days were approaching and various other circumstances promised to cause [still] more damage. Therefore, having calmed down, he resolved to return to Persia and wait there for the right moment to resume his campaign. Still looking

into the future, at that point he invited to his presence Javad-khan of Gandzak and Melik Mejlum, a well-versed personage, in order to think over with them some exit strategy from the currently established situation.

40. On the Coming of Agha-Mahmad-shah to Georgia

Due to the losses suffered by his army, Agha-Mahmad-shah wished to return to Persia, but Melik Mejlum, who was full of hatred toward King Heracles, among other things because the latter once upon a time wanted to capture him and hand him to Ibrahim-khan, advised the shah by saying:

"The return of a great ruler like you to Persia empty-handed may create stormy revolts and much human sacrifice might be necessary to calm this. For this very reason I think that it would be [41/21] better for you, my king, with my aid and your own army to go to the city of Tiflis against King Heracles and bring his country to the fold of submission. After this we could resolve with success the issue of the capture of the city of Shushi, and maybe then Ibrahim-khan himself would submit, for Ibrahim and Heracles are allies with each other, and the defeat of one will turn the other into a perilous situation."

Liking the advice of Melik Mejlum, Agha-Mahmad-shah moved with his army toward the land of Georgia. Some people, knowing of this decision, immediately informed king Heracles in secret:

"The Persian army tried to destroy the fortress of Shushi, but, having been defeated by the heroes of Artsakh, it now moves with great ferocity against you. Therefore, as much as possible, please hurry to reinforce beforehand the defenses of your realm."

Receiving the news, Heracles rushed to gather his army and then tried to reinforce his fortresses. For this reason he wrote an order to his subject princes and demanded that they should dispatch their troops under his command as soon as possible. Meanwhile they [the princes] were busy with empty pleasures and, more so than the others, Heracles' own relatives by resisting his orders were trying to ruin the united kingdom, in which they had ultimately succeeded.

And King Heracles, receiving four thousand soldiers from Lord Suleiman of the region of Borchalu,²¹⁶ moved to the village of Inja²¹⁷ which was situated near Khazakh²¹⁸ and, breaking a camp for his troops there, waited for the supporting regiments. But when he heard that Agha-Mahmad-shah had entered the region of Gandzak, seeing the small size of his [own] troops, he despaired, returned to Tiflis, with the greatest speed, reinforced it, and then by relocating near Krtsanis²¹⁹ waited there for the shah. The shah reached the village of Soghanlukh,²²⁰ spent the night there, and in the morning attacked Tiflis²²¹ with a great army. Heracles proceeded forward with his armor and [42] troops and blasting cannons, and a battle began at that very spot. The two sides clashed with great courage against each other and on both sides there were many wounded who fell.

During this war, Heracles demonstrated great courage and was close to defeating the large horde of Agha-Mahmad-khan's army, if [only] God would not help Mahmad-shah and his useless and crude people, for in the heat of the battle some smoky cloud appeared on the Persian side, covered the nearby deep mountain gorges, and obstructed the view of the right flank of the army of the Georgian king and by this gave the opportunity to the Persian soldiers to gain the top of the mountain called Kharpukh.²²² At this time, king Heracles, facing danger from three sides, with great difficulty returned and entered the city of Tiflis. And, although there in the asylum of his impregnable fortress, he could with courage resist the ferocious Persian troops, the Lord himself handed the city to the foreigners, like once he handed Jerusalem to Nebuchadnezzar, to Antiochus, and to Titus.²²³ Therefore, Heracles could not stay in the city but rushed to retreat to the region of Kakheti.²²⁴

Melik Mejlum divided the Persian army into two battalions, one of which was led by him to Sololak²²⁵ and the other was handed to Mahmad's commander whom he ordered to courageously attack the fortress from the east side where the baths were located,²²⁶ by this creating a confusion among Heracles' troops. After this, Melik Mejlum with his troops eventually stormed and penetrated through the thickness of the fortified walls and put the poor Christians to sword. Fate, which at times elevates a man and promises him many great gifts, by not keeping its promise, drowns the man at the hardest of times. This was what happened to brave Heracles. He, who reduced many states to submission and made many khans his tributaries, now could not even [43/22] persuade his troops to resist the unlawful

Persians with the right measure of zeal, but instead he fled to Kakheti and relied on the impregnable mountains of the Greater Caucasus, which, since ancient centuries, had always protected the Georgian nation. After all of this the whole might of the remaining troops perished, the Armenian and Georgian strong arm had weakened, having been finally defeated and, surrendering on all sides [the Georgian allies], the Ossetians, Khevsurs, and Pshavs,²²⁷ turned their rear toward the enemy and fled.

Thus the entire crowd of the unlawful Persian army entered the city of Tiflis [1795], thirsty for Christian blood. It entered not as victors over the defeated, not as a king over his subjects, not as a ruler over his tributaries, but as beasts with fangs devouring the law. With contorted foreheads and swords at their hands they began to massacre the old and the young. They snatched the infants from their parents. Having killed some with weapons and some with stones, they mixed the milk of the mothers with the blood of the infants and sprayed it over the country. And they killed some of the infants near the graves of their mothers. Their cries reached God, but God, remaining deaf, may have wished it so. There were streams of blood, the tears of the captives were saturating the soil, but no one helped. The Muslim wolves²²⁸ [the Persians], entering the herd of helpless Christian sheep, were tearing it apart as much as their strength would allow, not being satisfied by just taking prisoners from there. Weep over Israel, oh wise Jeremiah; preach a new tale, oh tearful St. Gregory, to God on the plight of the Parthians,²²⁹ wear a dress of mourning, oh St. Nune, the virgin disciple of the Georgian nation,²³⁰ for in the holy pool your children born of many labors were betrayed today to awful tortures, beating, captivity, and disgrace at the hands of the Muslims. [44] Their hands tied, they were asking for help, but they did not receive it. And the Persians, as usual, burnt the entire city and with much booty and captives returned to Karabagh. Let the blood of the innocent men and women, elders and infants, let the floods of salty tears of the surviving parents, let the cries and groans of the younger brothers complain to God about the vengeance of Melik Mejlum, who, intoxicated with his hatred toward king Heracles, sent the Armenian captives to Persia. And let us now end this disastrous story submitting it to the will of the Creator, who governs the entire world at His own will.

Eventually, Mahmad-shah, after he had returned, hosted Melik Mejlum at his table and bestowed upon him the following three

privileges: first 1) his petitions to the Persian shah should always be granted, 2) he might without obstruction use the funds of the Royal Treasury no matter how much treasure he wishes to receive, and 3) at his own decision, at any time or moment, he may have without any obstruction an audience with the shah. After this, he ordered Melik Mejum to stay with Javad-khan, and he, himself, entering the Persian land, went to Kandahar²³¹ and Herat²³² in order to suppress there the now gathering revolt.

41. On Coming of Zubov to the land of Aghuank

After the awful destruction of the city of Tiflis, King Heracles went to Dushet,²³³ then gathered his advisors around him and said: "The hour of my departure is approaching and near is the moment when I shall drink from the cup of death. It is difficult for me to sit in a corner of Agha-Mahmad-shah's empire and just be a passive hostage of his commands. However, as the time demands, I feel it necessary instead to send to Agha-Mahmad-shah one of my relatives."

Soon Agha-Mahmad-shah returned to Persia, and the Georgian king rushed to inform the Russian empress [Catherine II] of his disastrous attack on Georgia and asked her for aid. The most benevolent queen sent an order to General Zubov,²³⁴ and the latter with a great army advanced from the city of Kizlar²³⁵ toward Derbend.²³⁶ Sheikh-Ali-khan, the son of Fathali-khan, having resisted, gave battle, but overtaken by the Russian army, like the mountain fog is overtaken by the rays of the sun, he was weakened. The residents of Derbend, finding themselves in dire straits, surrendered the city along with Sheikh-Ali-khan to Zubov. Zubov put the governance of the city in order and then personally moved with many troops to [the khanate of] Quba²³⁷ and, conquering it, established order there, as well.

One day during the horse racing games in a public circus arena Shiekh-Ali-khan, while warming his horse suddenly whipped it and raced to the Persian land. Meanwhile Zubov came to Baku²³⁸ and took it without a battle. Leaving there a garrison, he then moved to Shamakhi [capital of Shirvan].²³⁹ Learning of this, Mustafa-khan²⁴⁰ [of Shirvan] sent Zubov an emissary of peace, an Armenian spiritual leader called Bishop John, so that the latter would hold talks with His Eminence Archbishop Joseph Arghutian, who was accompanying great general Zubov at the queen's orders. Zubov accepted the peace offering but asked the khan to surrender to him a reliable hostage.

Offended by this, Mustafa-khan fled to Karabagh, while his brother gave his son as a hostage and himself taking up the reins of the khanate sat on the throne of Shirvan.

After taking these states under his control, Zubov in order to pass the winter without [45] trouble, moved to the Mughan valley,²⁴¹ where there was no heavy snowing or harsh cold. Mustafa pleaded with Ibrahim-khan for help. Ibrahim, himself, was afraid of the Russian army and was willing to fall under Russian rule. Instead of helping the khan of Shirvan with troops, he was contemplating the fate of the latter. At the break of spring Zubov slowly moved toward the city of Gandzak and was hosted with great honor by Javad. Javad prepared provisions for Zubov, and he himself moved to another dwelling, demonstrating selfless loyalty toward great Zubov and Archbishop Arghutian. He passed to the latter the holy relic of the living staff from the monastery of Haghpat,²⁴² which he had purchased after the destruction of the city of Tiflis.

Meanwhile, Ibrahim saw that the Armenians, as per their early longings, looked at all this with united heart and soul and he decided that he could not withstand them alone. For this reason he dispatched his son Abdul-Fath-khan to great Zubov and asked to accept his peaceful subjugation to the Russian Empire, writing this in a pleading [tone]. After putting all of this into order and admitting all Aghuank under his governance, Zubov desired to move forward with his plans against the Persian power. However, by a heavenly decree Empress Catherine passed away [1796], and Zubov received an order to return to the Russian land.

42. The Return of Zubov to Russia

After receiving this order, with grave concern Zubov returned to Russia. After this the poor Armenians fell into a dire situation. Surrendering themselves to the protection of the Heavenly Power and grabbing their jaws with their hands, they shed rivers of tears. Afterwards, receiving hope from Zubov, they surrendered themselves to God's care and lived with this promise: General Zubov promised them reliable troops. However, the Armenians of Derbend and Quba, who [46/24] moved there from Artsakh during the time of Avan-yüzbashi and were so tired of the Persian humiliations and who, in consequence of the latest developments, would suffer losses again, had reasonably decided to emigrate from their residences and go to Russia in the company of Zubov. Alas, sweet is the father and

sweet is the fatherland, and being apart from the fatherland is a painful ordeal. In spite of this, the freedom of faith and God's worship is even sweeter, and for this reason they were ready to migrate with Zubov. Thus they left their young orchards, blossoming valleys and fields that were filled with the fruits of their labor and in this became like Jacob's children and Moses the prophet, their leader. After their departure the fields became barren and filled with worms, the land became covered with weeds and the entire country became veiled with sorrow. Ultimately, Zubov took thousands with him and settled them in the region of Kizlar, and he himself left and went to Russia.

After the return of Zubov to Russia Mustafa-khan returned to Shirvan, suppressed his brother, and cruelly struck and tortured Bishop John, who was seen now as an obstacle in the peace talks, and receiving a fine from him granted him his life. Then taking the control of that land's khanate, he restored his house and kept the Armenians in peace.

43. The Siege of the City of Gandzak and Melik Mejlum's Death

After the disastrous destruction, Tiflis was gradually being restored thanks to the surviving Armenians and Georgians, who had managed to hide in the inaccessible regions of the Great Caucasus. King Heracles learnt that Melik Mejlum and Javad-khan perpetrated this merciless blow thrust upon him. Heracles wished to destroy the city of Gandzak completely and then to arrest and execute Melik Mejlum and Javad-khan. For this purpose he went with numerous troops [47] to Gandzak and persuaded Ibrahim-khan to join him. First, Heracles demanded that Javad-khan hand him alive Melik Mejlum and, in addition, return to him all the prisoners taken from Tiflis. Javad, acting more magnanimously than Heracles, returned the ambassadors of the latter empty handed and instead said: "It is not worthy of me to turn a nobleman, who sought asylum here, to his enemies, against whom he fought and eventually became the reason for the destruction of the city of Tiflis."

Heracles, not being satisfied with his demands, began a war. With great readiness the population entered the fortress and the surrounding residents gathered there as well. Heracles tried many times to give battle but did not win anything. Then, by having put the fortress to siege for four months, he drove its inhabitants to desperation and also ravaged and destroyed the neighboring areas by using firearms. During this war one Colonel Arzuman²⁴³ distinguished himself for

his great courage. He filled the orchards with enemy corpses and with his undefeated courage always managed to repel King Heracles' troops, not letting them get close to the fortress and its defenders. However, Heracles' troops daringly attacked the fortress and caused chaos in the western tower of the fortification. At this time there appeared Melik Mejlum, who began to repel the enemy regiment, but in the confusion he was wounded though he managed to destroy many and freed the tower from enemy hands. Ignoring his wounds and bleeding, he came down from the tower, and enervated he fell there. Javad tried to find a cure for Mejlum through some gifted doctors but failed. In twelve days Melik Mejlum died, and they took his casket and buried him with great pomp in the right wing chapel of the church of Gandzak, known as Glukheskend. Having lost two of his almost undefeated allies, Javad, filled with fearful hesitations, confined himself to his tent and turned himself to heavy drinking. Finally, having no [48/25] choice, he made peace with King Heracles, releasing to him the prisoners brought to Gandzak from Tiflis and also fulfilling some other demands of the latter. And Heracles, feeling happier for Melik Mejlum's demise rather than for his own victory, jubilantly returned to Tiflis.

44. The Return of Agha-Mahmad-Shah to Karabagh and His Death

After conquering the breakaway Herat [in Afghanistan], Mahmud-shah received in Persia a letter from Javad-khan of Gandzak from which he learnt about the current events that unfolded in that region: about Zubov's campaign and the khans' submission to him, about Zubov's departure to Russia, about the alliance of King Heracles and Ibrahim-khan, about the siege of the city of Gandzak and the damage caused by it, and finally about the perilous death of his dear Melik Mejlum. Of course, all of it harshly wounded the shah's heart and soul, especially the news of Melik Mejlum's death. Filled with vengeance against those people who were guilty in all of this, he was heading to Aghuank with countless troops. Fear enveloped the khans and the entire population, and Agha-Mahmad-khan, causing unimaginable destruction and ravages, was drawing closer to Karabagh. Ibrahim-khan, sensing that it was impossible to repel this daring assault by the shah, especially given that he did not have a ready army and [because], moreover, the miserable famine was increasing its scope and the residents, who were dispersed all over the place, were hardly managing [to find] their daily bread, fled one

night with his family to the Caucasus to his father-in-law Omar-khan²⁴⁴ and thus deserted the fortress of Shushi. Mahmad-shah reached the Askeran gorge and stationed himself there with his troops.

Melik Jumshud,²⁴⁵ who was about to flee to Georgia before the shah's arrival, after being robbed by some local Persians, turned from his journey and came to the shah and paid his respects by kneeling in front of the latter. The shah softly asked him what took him so long. [49] Jumshud said, "My lord, oh king of the Persians, they robbed my possessions, and I have lost my head. Please forgive [me], since I came on my own." As a sign of forgiveness, the shah took him to Shushi. After this he became angry with the Muslims who had robbed Melik Jumshud's house. He gave the melik a regiment and sent him with orders to return with the stolen possessions and goods and to imprison all of the Persian thieves and bring them to Shushi. Finally, when all of this happened, they met the second time and Jumshud said, "My lord, the king, order me anything, and I will do it." This time the shah demanded from him one hundred thousand *manat-s*,²⁴⁶ and afterwards, having robbed the entire city [of Shushi], captured all of the residents with their goods and drove them to Persia.

But God, who holds everything in His hands and does as He wills and for however much and whatever time He wills, this time did it so that the measure of the bloodthirsty shah's life and fate was filled and his heart became a cemetery choking [on] evil's seed. Once the shah threatened that he would build a mountain from human heads and that at the very top he would place the head of one Abas, his servant. This Abas, believing that the shah would fulfill his promise, the same night thrust his blade deep into the shah's heart. The shah jumped from his bed and said, "What have you done? You have ruined the Persian land." But he [Abas] did not listen, struck the shah three more times, and then beheaded him, declaring the shah's death to his enemies. The news of the shah's death reached the city of Shushi. After this, the shah's people fled in fear of their lives, and Ibrahim-khan, learning of the shah's death, returned to Karabagh.

[56/29] 45. On the Move of Melik Abov and his People to Bolnis

When the news of the coming again of Agha Mahmad-khan²⁴⁷ to Karabagh spread, Melik Abov, who was the subject of Ibrahim-khan, reflected and told the latter, "The shortage of bread and scarcity of troops is a hardship to us, and does not allow us to keep our nation

and country safe. Hence it is reasonable to care for ourselves and our people first." Then he gathered his whole people and headed to Georgia. There he received from King Heracles [the town of] Bolnis²⁴⁸ and settled there with great dignity. He became an ally of the pasha of Akhaltsikhe²⁴⁹ and kept his country safe from the attacks of the Lesguis. Besides, Melik Abov benevolently took upon himself great expenditures, as later his population wrote to General Dmitry Tsitsianov in 1806.²⁵⁰

46. On the Great Famine in Artsakh and Melik 'Mejum's (sic., read: Jumshud's) journey to the Russian emperor; (Meljum was already deceased).'

The unpleasant deeds by the [hand of] Man angered our peace loving God, and for this reason the lives of people became complicated. Due to God's despair the elements of the earth mixed in evil chaos, the blossoms of the earth diminished, and because of the constant pouring rains the orchards faded and the land of Karabagh began to feel a [severe] shortage in its harvest. Hunger increased, everywhere food became scarce, and the people ate whatever they could find, both holy and unholy animals.²⁵¹ Nonetheless, hunger worsened. It came to a point that they would grind the old bones of the eaten animals and, after boiling them in water, would eat them mixing this with the seeds of acorns and beech and frying it into a mush, also baking it into a scone. The [starving] people grew in number and with empty stomachs they fell in the streets and died of hunger. And when the spring came, they started digging the ground like pigs, opening the roots of the trees and flowers and, after pulling them, sucking their juices and eating the rest by chewing. Some died of eating poisonous plants. At this time Melik Jumshud, who was a God loving lord, opened his grain stocks and generously distributed them to the poor. But what was the use? Even this could not alleviate [57] the hunger of the large population of Artsakh.

Thereafter, Ibrahim-khan ordered his subjects to care for their own survival as well as they could. Many turned to the road of emigration. Great masses of Armenians and Turks fled from the land of Aghuank and directed their way to Georgia, Persia, Russia, and Turkey, wherever they could hear the voice of wheat's abundance. Some reached their destinations, yet others fell on the roads and died of hunger turning into the prey of flesh eating vultures. Those who arrived in Persia, Russia, Armenia, and Turkey, recovered their

strength by the aid of the local people. And when the hunger ended some returned to their homeland, and yet some stayed behind in the strange lands. The ones who migrated to Georgia were begging for their daily bread in the homes of the Georgians. The Georgians, in spite of God's laws, would invite them as their servants and only then would promise to give them bread. The almighty hunger did not spare anyone: a father would send his son to serve, a mother-in-law would her son-in-law, a brother would his brother. Thus everybody easily sold himself and became a servant, and he acted this way till now and suffers immensely. I saw this with my own eyes.

After this, the agriculturally rich land of Artsakh became a desert, and the surface of the fields became bare, filled with bushes. Silence reigned everywhere. At this time Melik Jumshud with his subjects, as per the khan's order, emigrated from Artsakh, headed for Georgia and, reaching there, went on to Russia, [where he] was given an audience with Emperor Alexander [1801-1825], [and] having given rich gifts, received from the latter a letter of credentials²⁵² and then returned to Tiflis to King George's court. George received him with due respect and gave him the city of Lori with its environs and an abundant rivulet in the Borchalu region as a gift.²⁵³ Jumshud went there [58/30] and established his residence with his subjects. In the end, having sold this region to the Georgian crown, he returned to the land of Artsakh, gathered around him the dispersed Armenian population, and conducted the affairs of his [own] Varanda region.

47. On the Return of the Russians to Georgia

After the death of King Heracles [1798] the crown of the kingdom was inherited by his son Gurgen [*i.e.* George XII (1798-1800), the translator shall use this latter name from now on—VA]. Alas, George was suffering strikes from three different sides: from the Persians, from the Ottomans and from the mountaineers. And even more so, the animosity in his family between his brothers and relatives was on the rise. For this reason he sent on a mission his older son David together with important Georgian courtiers to the Russian tsar, Paul Petrovich, asking for aid. The Russian emperor treated with understanding the request to defend the region and dispatched General Nazarov [read: *Lazarov—VA] with substantial troops. But one month later, Omein-khan (*sic*) of Dagestan [read: *Omar-khan, see Raffi, *ibid.*, pp. 81-189, *passim*], becoming upset with King George, gathered his troops and with a large crowd moved toward Georgia,

intending to destroy the city of Tiflis and to take its population as slaves to Dagestan.

This news reached the ears of the residents [and] they rushed to flee in panic, recalling the images of the deeds by the late Mahmad-shah. Many were crying. Although General *Lazarov encouraged them, not knowing what to make of the Russian force, [and] feeling lost, they did not know what to do. And thus like lambs in distress, they bleated, cried and sighed. Seeing that it was futile to convince them, *Lazarov said, "Remain here, and I shall confront Omar-khan. If I defeat him, stay in peace, and if not, rush to escape whichever way you can." *Lazarov left the city and advanced to meet Omar.

Near the village of Sagarejo [59] Omar-khan seeing that the Russian troops were few, ignored them and ordered his commander to take everyone alive as prisoners, after which they surrounded the Russians from all four sides. However, when the sunrise opened its yellow curtain, General *Lazarov ordered his troops into square formations and poured on the blockading troops the terrible fire of cannons. And then, yelling in unison "Hurrah!", the Russians attacked the enemy's army. Forced into panic by this sudden blow, the mountaineers, turning a large part of their troops into a prey for the Russian swords, resorted to flight and entered Gandzak, but there also being oppressed immensely, they directed themselves to Char²⁵⁴ and Belokan²⁵⁵ and arrived there exhausted. With great victory *Lazarov entered Tiflis. The Tiflisians, greatly puzzled by all of this, considered it a night's dream. And [after this] Omar became ill and, wounded, died in Dagestan.

48. On King George's Death, on Tsitsianov's Coming to Georgia, the Taking of Gandzak and Javad's Death

One month later, filling the last drop of his life's cup, King George died [1800], and his coffin with great pomp was buried in his ancestral cemetery in the monastery of Metskhet.²⁵⁶ His brother Illum-mirza gathered a military council in an attempt to gain the homeland's throne. However, General *Lazarov opposed him, and having no other choice, suggested instead king George's son David as the sovereign. Afterwards a plenipotentiary committee gathered, and its members confirmed this suggestion.

Being confirmed as a governor, Prince Tsitsianov arrived from Russia [1803], bringing with him a plan for establishing [East Geor-

gia, *i.e.* Kartli-Kakheti, as] a province, and per this plan began to build a regional government. King George's sons and brothers considered this unacceptable, revolting in spirit, in spite of the fact that prince Tsitsianov insisted on numerous occasions that these improvements were not directed against them. [60/31] They, however, did not adjust. Thus, having no choice, Tsitsianov arrested him [King David] and exiled him to Russia. He wished to do the same with king George's widow [the Dowager Queen Darejan], sending to her for this purpose General *Lazarov. But the merciless woman, before she gave up everything, thrust her two-edged sword, that she had hidden in her dress, into the general's heart. And only after this did she come to her senses and was exiled from her homeland and taken to Russia. Finally, the land of Georgia got rid of its dynastic quarrels and revolts.

After all of this, in 1809 Tsitsianov wrote a letter to Javad-khan and offered him [the opportunity] to submit to the Russian emperor per the agreement, which had been signed in Zubov's time. Javad revolted, refused this offer, and openly rejected submission to the emperor, although Javad's numerous allies in their foresight persuaded him to accept Tsitsianov's offer to [let him] submit, warning him of the terrible consequences, if he did not. However, ignoring these consequences, he said, "Better they spit on my corpse, than in my face. So it is impossible for me to fulfill that demand."

Thus Tsitsianov moved forward, reached a locale called Jatur,²⁵⁷ gave battle, and in the heat of this battle Javad, finding himself in great danger, fled and retreated to the fortress of Gandzak. Tsitsianov with many blows and having deprived Javad of drinking water increased his pressure and moved the battlefield near the besieged fortress. Building a bridge there and turning a side of the fortress into a target for his cannons, he destroyed it and opened his way. Thereafter he entered with great force and in three hours, crossing swords, destroyed Javad's army. During this, Javad fell and perished, and brave Tsitsianov restored everything there reasonably and prepared to return to Tiflis.

During this war, Archbishop John, the religious leader of Tiflis, and the Armenian Bishop Nerves,²⁵⁸ who subsequently became the catholicos [at Echmiatsin],²⁵⁹ were with Tsitsianov. [61] Tsitsianov, in expression of his gratitude, granted Echmiatsin a spacious orchard in the city of Gandzak and then returned to Tiflis with great trophies. After the return of Tsitsianov from Gandzak, per their ancient habit,

the Caucasian mountaineers made a sortie and, causing numerous ravages, took Georgian prisoners. Trying to contain their daring acts, general Tsitsianov moved there with his small army. Having foreseen this, the Lesguis held a gathering on the bank of the Lepna river (which is now called *Alazan*)²⁶⁰ to decide how to destroy the Russian army. But is it possible to struggle with a lion cub, or how can a sword destroy something, which has been decided by a higher providence? Thus the Lesguis, forming a front, wished to fight, but being beaten by the Russian troops, they ran toward Char Kishakan.²⁶¹ Pursuing and destroying them, Tsitsianov reached there and forced them out of there as well. Then leaving a garrison there, he appointed as its commanders Prince Orbelian²⁶² and [General] Gulakov,²⁶³ and he, himself, returned to Tiflis.

49. On the Siege of the Fortress of Erevan by Tsitsianov

Tsitsianov [now] returned from Gandzak to Tiflis, where he received letters from the khan of Erevan, in which the latter promised to surrender Erevan to the Russian government and turn over to him the fortress key without a fight. However, this khan was writing to Tsitsianov with one hand and with the other secretly advising Baba-khan²⁶⁴ to come quickly to his rescue. And with this deep stratagem he tried to defend his reign over the land of Ararat from two illustrious rulers: Prince Tsitsianov and Fathali-shah. Alas, Tsitsianov, following the secret advice from this khan, moved with his numerous troops toward the land of Erevan and, reaching the flat valley of Vagharshapat, met with the army of Fathali-shah's son, Abas Mirza,²⁶⁵ who was advancing with his countless troops. [62/32]

Tsitsianov gave battle. With daring attacks the two sides clashed with each other, like the great waves of a foamy sea. The thundering cannons of both sides began to roar and the flames rose, as in the great fire of Babel. The air was blackened from the smoke, and its thick fog imprisoned the sun. The land, colored in scarlet, was shaking under the feet of the troops, and a river, made from the blood of the slain, was abundantly flowing. The local inhabitants were frightened and terrified and with tears in their eyes expected their live's end. Then the Russian army, which divided itself into three parts, left an impression that it had begun to suffer losses in the thick dust. From both sides fire was flowing from the incessantly hungry blows of the cannons, but who could erase a victory already granted from above [*i.e.* by the Heavenly Power—VA] to the Russian side?

When the battle was over and heaven opened its shadowy curtain, then the Russians saw that they had survived, while the Persian troops had fled. Leaving behind their belongings and provisions, with a quantity of armor, and suffering substantial losses in their troops, the Persians rushed to reach the village of Kanaker and there gathered with the remnants of their army. Tsitsianov, pursuing them, reached Kanaker,²⁶⁶ forced them out without a battle, confiscating the booty taken by their troops, and quartered there himself. Simultaneously with these unexpected events Fathali-shah with a great army crowd came and reached the village of Davali in the Plain of Sharur.²⁶⁷ There he was joined by his son, commander Abas Mirza. His father cajoled him and gathered his scattered troops. And again with numerous troops [63] he attacked General Tsitsianov. But Tsitsianov, like a tornado that became more powerful amidst the thick bushes, again put to the lance and sword this flood of the shah's army, by pushing down his horsemen, and then, proudly unsheathing his [battle] horns, he completely drowned the Persian shah.

Thereafter, returning from there, he built a barrier in the vicinity of the Erevan fortress and put Mahmad-khan into a difficult position, who, contrary to his promise, did not surrender the fortress. Fathali-shah again, with a terrible blow, besieged the Russian army and closed the roads from all sides, wishing to exhaust them through lack of bread. Some Georgian princes [who were apparently in the Russian army—VA], attempting to escape, fell into the hands of the Persians, then joined the Georgian Crown Prince Alexander²⁶⁸ and with him went to Georgia to stir there protests and the revolts of the people against the great Russian power. Meanwhile, the provisions of Tsitsianov's army were becoming scarce, thus Major Kondratov²⁶⁹ with his small regiment and Melik Abov's son Rostom-Bek were sent to obtain and deliver some provisions for the army. The major returned to Erevan and reached Pambak,²⁷⁰ but then, near the Saral River,²⁷¹ he met numerous Persian troops. In the location of this valley the major was surrounded on all sides and was forced to give battle. Hearing the noise of the cannons, there gathered many Persians from the neighboring regions and put the Russian troops into confusion. The Russians, having no gunpowder, were left in the snow and eventually surrendered to the Persians. The Persians killed them with swords along with their major, and having then imprisoned Rostom-bek with his servants, returned to the Persian army. Alexander, learning that Abov's son was near, decided to keep him in his

tent. Eventually, Abas Mirza sent him to Tabriz.²⁷²

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...forcing him to turn into a Persian.²⁷³ Rejecting this order, Rostom was killed there [in Tabriz—VA] by the hand of this Abas Mirza. Soon the disastrous news of the major reached Tiflis. The governor of Tiflis dispatched the provisions with different troops. They went to the border of Lori, but were also surrounded by Persian troops near the mount of Gharaghash.²⁷⁴ Having built a barrier from their own carts, they defended themselves and thus resisting the enemy troops they managed to stay safe for some days. And then, with the aid of the supporting troops from Tiflis, they freed themselves from this danger and safely delivered the provisions to Gharakilisa.²⁷⁵ Prince Tsitsianov, seeing that an immediate capture of the fortress was difficult and that the Russian troops, who were not used to the harmful climate of Erevan, died of different diseases, returned from there to Gharakilisa and distributed the provisions to the troops. Thereafter he headed to Georgia. There, the Persians (Muslims? See n. 276), who rebelled against him,²⁷⁶ [now] afraid of him, rushed to escape to Karabagh. However, Lisanovich,²⁷⁷ through his mediation, obtained this time their pardon, gathered them, and ordered them to return to their villages. Tsitsianov entered Tiflis and punished a certain number of rebellious Georgians with his own hands, thus calming down the noises and revolts and completely restoring the country.

50. The Return of Prince Tsitsianov to Karabagh

After returning from the Ararat valley, Prince Tsitsianov went to Karabagh and in this field²⁷⁸ setting his troops invited Ibrahim-khan to come to his submission. Ibrahim-khan, without any objection, came into Prince Tsitsianov's presence, bringing with him his son-in-law, Shaki Selim-khan. [There,] they both promised to become Russian subjects, for they had sealed an agreement, and according to this agreement they paid a legally set tribute. By the same [agreement—KVK] the khans were also prohibited from punishing their criminal subjects. Accordingly, in an act of great submission, [Ibrahim] was dispatched [65] to the fortress of Shushi in the company of four Russian soldiers. And Tsitsianov, intending to submit the territories between the Sea of Pontus²⁷⁹ and the Caspian Sea to the Russian crown, advanced for this purpose to the Aghuank area

[the author here means historic Aghuank, situated on the left bank of the Kur River—VA] and reached the field of Shirvan. Mustafa-khan at first, trying to resist the Russians, reinforced himself in the fortress of Fit,²⁸⁰ but then, considering his [limited] capabilities, he submitted and asked for peace. He came himself to Tsitsianov's presence and delivered to the latter the land of Shirvan, inviting him to the city of Fit.²⁸¹ After Tsitsianov entered the city alone several times, Mustafa-khan revealed to him the true barbaric nature of the Persians²⁸² and said, "Be careful, for they do drink the blood of innocents here." To him Prince Tsitsianov answered, "For a great power the loss of one soldier is not a great deal." And then Tsitsianov, taking Mustafa-khan with himself, advanced to Baku.

Through some negotiators Hussein-Ghuli-khan of Baku asked for peace and, like other khans, desired to submit to the great emperor. Then he invited Tsitsianov to the fortress of Baku. Tsitsianov, as per his habit, prepared to go there alone. However, Mustafa-khan, having known of the coming conspiracy, warned Tsitsianov and advised him to take a companion. Besides this, Tsitsianov received a separate note from an Armenian, in which the latter told him about the khan's intent and asked him not to go there alone. But Tsitsianov, ignoring Mustafa-khan's advice and the aforesaid note as a senseless libel, let the khan of Baku return, and he himself prepared with great courage to go to Baku. Then, when he approached the Baku fortress, the khan came forward, bringing the fortress key, and, bowing, delivered it to him. Tsitsianov had now convinced himself that Mustafa-khan and the Baku Armenians were unjustly suspicious. However, in the course of his conversation with Hussein [khan] [66/34] the plot revealed itself, and a rifle fired, wounding Tsitsianov's liver. The rosy blood flooded from Tsitsianov, and suffering to his death, he fell into the pit [1806].²⁸³ And then the Russian army, embarking on a ship, returned to Kizlar, telling there the story of great Tsitsianov's death.

51. On how the khan Thought to Destroy the Armenian Nation

After Tsitsianov's death, the Russian army returned to Kizlar. Taking into consideration the loyalty of the Armenians toward Tsitsianov, Hussein-khan of Baku, who had got hold of the note²⁸⁴ and, putting the blame on everyone for a damaging deed committed by one person, gathered the Persian rulers for a council²⁸⁵ appealing to everyone to kill all Armenians. Supporting the khan's intent, they encouraged him to massacre quickly. Thus inspired by this confi-

dence, the khan of Baku gave an order to gather simultaneously all Armenians in the yard of the church. And the blessed Armenians, following their own thinking, went to the church [there] to become innocent victims of murder.

Thereafter, their cries ascended to heaven. [The] screaming mother hugged her child, giving her last farewell, and the children, dying in front of their parents, asked for their last parental forgiveness. The son-in-law was mourning, for instead of sailing forward he was to enter the eternal darkness, and the daughter-in-law saw in front of her eyes, how they killed the youngsters. Altogether, they poured [upon] the ground the dew of their salty tears and were rushing to join the swarm of the saints, encouraging each other, having images of the martyrdom of their ancestors, who perished in the name of Christ and became subjects of heavenly liturgy. Finally, this terrible news reached a Persian pilgrim,²⁸⁶ who being a merciful man, immediately went to the khan of Baku and censured his intent, [thus] at once disbanding the evil council, as once it was done by Angus in front of Absolom.²⁸⁷ Then he pointed to the cries of the babes and the grief of the men and said, "You have committed this evil, and who will then be able from now on [67] to reconcile you, your family, and especially your land, with the peace-loving God. Such lowly deeds will leave no doubt of vengeance." And he [the khan] released the blessed Christians from these sufferings. So the Armenians, whose kinfolk were killed, then till now consider this Persian's descendants as the liberators of the Armenians.

52. On the Coming of Bulgakov and the Capture of the City of Baku

When prince Tsitsianov became a victim of treachery in 1806, Gudovich²⁸⁸ ordered the governor of the land of Georgia, General Bulgakov,²⁸⁹ to move with his army against the city of Baku to punish Hussein-khan and to capture the fortress of Baku. Bulgakov reached Derbend, [whose] inhabitants persuaded Shkhali-khan, who had just returned from Persia and was ruling over their fortress, to come forward and cordially receive great Bulgakov. Shkhali obstinately refused, ran to Quba and gathered troops to confront the Russian army. However, the residents of Derbend willingly opened the gates of the fortress, invited Bulgakov inside the city, and handed him the key to the fortress. Shkhali-khan, seeing that Bulgakov had entered Derbend without resistance, became helpless and sent a hostage for submission. Bulgakov, leaving part of his army in Derbend

and Quba, reached Baku. Hussein-khan fled, and Bulgakov entered into the control of the local regions, establishing law and order there and improving the lands. For the defense of the fortress of Baku he left there certain regiments. Gathering the bones of Prince Tsitsianov, he placed them in a sarcophagus, laying it inside an Armenian church, and thereafter returned to Russia.

53. On the War of Gudovich in Erevan and Akhalkalak

After the death of Tsitsianov, Gudovich entered Tiflis, and from there he went to Gumri²⁹⁰ in which he posted General Nesvetaev,²⁹¹ and he, himself, advanced to Akhalkalak, besieged it, and placed it in a blockade. Striking [68/35] an irresistible blow and gathering many trophies, he returned to Tiflis. Later learning that Yusuf-pasha (who then resided in Artsrum [Erzurum],²⁹² but earlier had been ousted by Napoleon from Egypt), with his numerous army was advancing toward Gumri, he went to meet the former with a small army and gave battle on the banks of the Akhurean River.²⁹³ His army destroyed, the pasha fled. Irrigating the field with blood, Gudovich held a victory [celebration?], loaded his train with every war cannon and armor, returned to Gumri, and from there with numerous troops advanced toward Erevan. However, when the winter turned harsh, he considered the [local] conditions disadvantageous and returned. Due to the cold he had lost a substantial part of his troops, and, having returned, he left the governor's office to Tormosov²⁹⁴ and himself went to Russia.

54. On the Occurrence of Conflicts in the Land of Persia

Gudovich returned to Russia, and in his stead General Otifantes was appointed. Tormosov loved peace and desired reconciliation with the Ottomans and Persians. However, noticing the sly habits of the Persians, he was cautious. The rulers of the Persian land considered Tormosov naïve, and, in 1811, Mahmad Ali Mirza²⁹⁵ secretly crossed the Georgian border, conquered the Borchalu region and, taking fresh booty and numerous prisoners, returned to Persia. Simultaneously Hussein-khan of Erevan²⁹⁶ sent Crown Prince Alexander to Georgia,²⁹⁷ specifically to the Tai region,²⁹⁸ to start from there a revolt throughout Georgia. After all of this, general Tormosov advanced to meet his troops, put them to the sword and caused them to flee, while capturing some and taking them as prisoners. Those who fled Tormosov were eventually robbed by Ottoman soldiers and re-

turned to Erevan in shame. [69]

55. On the Coming of Markizov and the Georgian Revolt

Tormosov became a governor in Russia and in his stead Markizov²⁹⁹ [also known as “Marquis Pavlovich” to the author—VA] was appointed. The marquis advanced to Gandzak and from there to Baku. At this point the Georgians revolted and caused a great disturbance. Then Jafar-Ghuli-khan,³⁰⁰ Ibrahim’s son, who lived in Karabagh, massacred a Russian battalion and fled to Persia. Learning of this, Markizov went to Karabagh and, accusing Mahdi-Ghuli-khan³⁰¹ of this chaos, arrested him, while also chastising Melik Jumshud, accusing the latter of disloyalty toward the great Russian power. Thereafter, receiving a report about the Georgian revolt, he went to Tiflis and through various means pacified the unrest of the Georgian nation.

56. On the Substitution of Markizov’s Rule

In 1816 Markizov was replaced as governor, and in his stead Rtishchev³⁰² was appointed. Rtishchev undertook peace negotiations. He, himself, on the Russian side and Mirza Abdul Hasan³⁰³ on the Persian side met in Ghalacha with large delegations and there reached a peace accord by which the rebellious country has finally found peace. And, after this, Rtishchev was replaced as governor, and in his stead Ermolov³⁰⁴ was appointed. Ermolov went to Persia, made his appearance in front of Fathali-shah, and confirmed the agreement, reached by his predecessor, also deciding on the issue of the borders between both sides, which now crossed at the Arax River in Karabagh, at the Tsaghkots Mountains, and at Mount Aragats³⁰⁵ in the direction of Shirak.³⁰⁶ Then Ermolov returned to Tiflis, and during this period Mahdi-khan of Karabagh in 1822, Mustafa-khan of Shirvan in 1820, and Ismail-khan of Shaki fled to the land of Persia. A trial was held on this matter, which legally transferred the governance [of their lands] to Ermolov.

THE END

ADDENDA – UNRELATED EXTRACTS

[page 26 - side margin] [unrelated extract]³⁰⁷

"To Your great delight, since I was absolutely willing to bring hither and keep, as my aid, the learned Bishop James of Shamakha, who then was near Christ's seat in Echmiatsin. This was impossible then. However, now that he himself has risen and come to me, I was in very great joy and decided to keep him [with me] till his death, for, finally, he had fallen into my hands. But according to your order, through the hands of Bishop Gregory, whom you yourself requested [to address me], you called Bishop James to your person. Therefore, with great care I started to look after him, having chosen him and keeping him in his cell. It may be with kind and God-loving providence that I had seen to this and chosen [as I did].

*[27, unrelated extract]*³⁰⁸

...the great good of their coming to You, which I took and chose, because, as the wise men say, of the good things one must choose and take the greatest, and from the evil things, the least, for the creators of the greatest good were two in number, of which one real choice would be the order of Your Godly rule, for if you called me to your person, I would without reservation have come there as well, for I have a great desire to see your sweet image. The other choice would be the help of the saints and the Virgin born to our Armenian holy seat, for which they have called you to serve. For this, I (being also moved by these two concerns) send my holy son, the theologian and Bishop James, to Your Grace. I ask your benevolence whether whatever you wished [page 27a -extract continues] and desired, thought and considered to accomplish, I indeed accomplished with thoughtfulness, great care and choice, in order not to deprive your fame, kind name and holy seat. And now, when our holy son Bishop James will always cherish your sweet care and abundant love with his Godly fear, I (an old failing man) [sending for this purpose] my beloved son Bishop James, ask you to consider him worthy of my request. And as far as our country is concerned, we, the undeserved servants, the supporters of our able meliks, wrote that the Church should entrust its humblest Bishop James to Your most illuminated power. Stay wholesome in Christ, entirely for His Glory, proud of His Holy Cross and firm for the Church that believes in Him. Amen.

[End of the unrelated extract]

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION

By Robert H. Hewsen

1. Avan *yüzbaşı* (Russ. *Ivan* or *Ovanes Babanov*. Avan = a Karabagh form for "Hovhannès;" Eng. *John*) is not to be confused with Egan *yüzbaşı*, who was associated with Nadir Shah in 1733. Avan was an Armenian noble of Lori, who, in 1717, settled in Varanda in Karabagh, where he organized an armed unit, becoming the leader of the Armenian resistance to the Muslims in the period 1724–1728. His later exploits against the Ottoman Turks and the Kurds, however, earned him the respect of Shah Tamasp II (1722–1732), who gave him the title "khan" (Bournoutian, 2001, p. 447), in this case meaning "governor." Toumanoff (1976, p. 259), who, following earlier authors, erroneously confuses him with Melik Egan II, states that the Russians recognized Avan as khan of Saghnakh in 1734 (which is correct except that he doesn't specify of which Saghnakh), but places his death in 1744, rather than 1735, the year that Avan actually died in Russia (*Ibid.*) Avan was commander of the Lesser Saghnakh on the slopes of Mt. Kirs and may also have been commander of the Great Saghnak in the Terter (Trtu) River valley. A *saghnak* was a fortified enclosure or encampment from Turkish *sighnah* "shelter" or "refuge."

The Turkish military term *yüzbaşı*, literally "head" or "chief" [*i.e.* "commander"] of a hundred [troops], was also used as a military title by the meliks of Karabagh but with a slightly looser meaning. The *yüzbaşı* in the melik context, though a military officer, was almost always a member of the family of the melik (Hewsen, *REA*, 10, 1973–1974, pp. 299–230).

2. Text: *Aghuank*. The author almost invariably uses this archaic name for what is obviously only the area of modern-day Karabagh and Ganje. Ancient Aghuank, the Greek and Roman "Albania" (usually called "Caucasian" or "Caspian Albania" in English), lay northeast of the River Kur (Gk. *Kyros* or *Koros*; Lat. *Cyrus*) until the late fourth century CE, when the territory south of the river extending as far as the River Arax, including Artsakh, was taken from the Armenians by the Sasanian dynasty, their Persian overlords at the time, and ceded to the Aghuan kingdom. In these notes (as in the text of the translation) the term *Aghuank* is used rather than *Albania*, to avoid confusion with the *Albania* in the Balkans, with which it has nothing in common.

3. Curiously, the fortress in question is not named. It is not Askeran (which still stands in fairly good condition about 7.50 mi. / 12 km. northeast of Stepanakert (Azeri: *khankendi* "khan's village,"), the modern capital of Karabagh, nor Bayat, which we know was founded by Panah Ali khan, and

it can hardly be a reference to Shushi, which lies atop an irregular mesa, not in a gorge.

4. The Gargar River flows between the Khachen and Ishkhan (Azeri: *Kondalan*) Rivers, all three more or less entering the great River Kur (except after the spring thaws have ended and the rivers tend to peter out in the lowlands before reaching the Kur). The Gargar (Azer. *Karkar*) was the river flowing past the fortress (later city) of Shushi, cf. the Gargarian tribe cited by Strabo (XI.5.1), Koriun (ed. N. Akinian, 1952, p. 92), MD/MK (I.4, 12, 27; II.3), and by MX (III.54).

5. By "his enemies" are presumably meant the Tatar (*i.e.* Azeri-Turkish-speaking) Muslims referred to below.

6. This would be the Ottoman invasion that took place after the collapse of the Safavid dynasty in Persia in the face of the Afghan invasion of 1722. *Artsakh* is the ancient name for the Armenian land (*ashkharh*) to the east of modern Zangezur (the southern districts of the present Armenian Republic). It corresponds roughly to the medieval principality of Khachen (which was much larger than the later melikdom of that name) and to the modern Republic of Nagorno-Karabagh which is also much larger.

7. Tarkhan-yüzbashi; Russ. *Tarkhan Isakhanov*, the last name in its Russian form presumably suggesting "son of Isa-khan" but, since he was a brother of Avan yüzbashi, whose father was actually named "Moses" (and later took the ecclesiastical name "Luke") it seems possible that *Isakhanov* is from Armenian *ishkhan* = "prince."). Tarkhan was an Armenian freedom fighter of Karabagh, who, under the command of his older brother Avan-yüzbashi, led his own unit fighting against Persian and Turkish forces until 1728. The following year, he accompanied Avan to Baku where they sought military aid from General Rumiantsev. Tarkhan was later sent to St. Petersburg as Armenian ambassador to plead the Armenian cause before the Empress Anna Ivanovna (r. 1730-1740). Tarkhan remained in Russia and in 1743 was created a major by the Russian government under the Empress Elizabeth Petrovna (r. 1741-1761).

8. Text: *Ohan-yüzbashi*. No information is available on this officer serving under Avan-yüzbashi. It seems probable that he was a member of a melik house although we have no way of telling which. "Ohan," or "Avan" is a variant of *Hovhannes* "John" but the use of the former is not limited to Karabagh.

9. The text has *Bagir*, more accurately *Baghir* (Russ. *Bagi*). Baghir-yüzbashi was another Armenian freedom fighter from Karabagh commanding his own unit. In 1727, he took his forces to the Persian town of Resht (Per. *Rasht*) near the Caspian port of Enzeli, where he joined the Russian army then in occupation, and afterward left immediately for St. Petersburg, where he received a medal from the imperial government under Peter II and the grant of an annual stipend. Baghir then joined the Armenian Battalion (*Armyanski Eskadron*) with the rank of major, remaining with this unit until

it was disbanded. Settling in Astrakhan, Baghir acted on behalf of the Armenian catholicos of Echmiatsin, dying there some time before 1776 (Bournoutian, 2001, p. 448). This Baghir is not to be confused with Melik Baghir (*infra*, n. 31).

10. Melik Grigor. Probably Melik Gregory III (r. 1716-1742) of the house of Hasan-Jalalians, meliks of Khachen in Karabagh.

11. Melik Mejnun. No information is available on this officer serving under Avan-yüzbaşı. Obviously a member of a melik house, he can not be the Melik Mejlum (r. 1780/2-1796) of the house of Israeliants, Meliks of Jraberd, who lived much later.

The "Aragats land" would be the earlier *Aragats-otn* "foot of Aragats," i.e. the area enclosing Mount Aragats or Alakiaz, a four-peaked extinct volcano known as *Alagöz* in Turkish. At 13,419 ft / 4090 m. it is the highest mountain in the present Armenian Republic. There were meliks in this region but little is known of them and they do not appear to have been of princely descent like the five of Karabagh (Hewsen 1992, p. 211, n. 267).

12. This reference to the "Aragats land" would be to the lowland area to the south of it between the mountain, itself, and the Arax River.

13. The land of Ararat, more accurately *Ayrarat*, was the centralmost region of Armenia (Hewsen 1992, pp. 210-220, nn. 267-312). In using this term here the author is again archaeizing for it had long fallen out of popular use. The immediate district surrounding the mountain would be the ancient and medieval district of Maseats otn "foot of Masis" (Eremyan 1963, p. 65), a toponym also obsolete by our author's period.

14. In Classical Armenian the Old Persian term *bitakhsh* is rendered *bdeashk* (Lat./Eng. *vitaxa*), and refers to a military border marcher although in the Persian milieu it had different meanings at different periods. Here the author seems to be referring to some sort of representative of the Persian authorities in Persian Armenia. (For the etymology of the term, which need not concern us here, see Frye, 1967, p. 232, n. 57).

15. *Duks*; Latin *dux*, meaning "leader," and later designating a military commander after the military reforms of the Emperor Diocletian (r. 284-305). The term probably entered Armenian through Byzantine Greek.

16. The meaning of this adage is clear but the use of the word *kar* "stone" in the text is curious unless a word for "egg" is intended.

17. Another adage. The author suggests that by retreating in the face of the enemy the Armenians would be writing a shameful and ineradical page (i.e. of diamond hardness) in their history.

18. Here the author seems to suggest that God helps those who help themselves.

19. *Pokr* ("Lesser") *Siunik* was another name for the district of Lesser Hamband in Artsakh (Hewsen 1992, p. 198, n. 210). Our author, Archbishop Sergius, appears to use the term in a broader sense so as to include the district and melikdom of Bargiushat (*infra* n. 20).

20. Baylakan. This is the medieval city of that name, located on the site of the modern village of Orenkala in the plain between the Kur and the Arax Rivers. A great commercial center until it was destroyed by the Mongols in 1239, the site of Baylakan was lost and a great deal of speculation arose concerning its exact location. This was settled in the 1930s when Orenkala was excavated. Baylakan, we now know, lay in the melikdom of Bargiushat, and was the location of a strong fortress (*HHShTB*, v. 1, p. 589). This locality is not cited in volume 2 of the *HSH*, nor in the list of villages of Siunik found in the thirteenth century *History of Siunik* by SO (1986, pp. 394-404), but see S. Karapetyan (2001), pp. 218-220.

[Beginning at this point there are several pages of the *Tübingen* ms. that are damaged on the left or right side about half way down the page so that as many as ten lines on each page are partially illegible. This accounts for the several lacunae noted in the translation of this part of the text].

21. Amaras is a monastery in southeastern Karabagh in the district of Mius ("the Other") Haband (so-called to distinguish it from the Haband in adjoining Siunik) and is the most southeasterly important architectural monument in Armenia. The monastery is reputed to be the burial place of St. Grigoris (grandson of St. Gregory the Illuminator), and apostle of Aghuank (Hasratyan, *REA* 17, 1977, pp. 243-260). The original church was constructed in the fourth century, supposedly by St. Gregory. The tomb of St. Grigoris with a well-preserved inscription of 489 CE lies in a hypogaeum beneath the altar. From early times schools functioned in the surrounding monastery. The present church, which dates from the seventeenth century, is surrounded with defensive towers, where the local people took shelter during time of danger. Often ravaged by foreign invaders, the monastery has been restored several times and, recently restored once again, is currently in good condition.

22. Balthasar (Arm. *Baghdasar*). Here the author refers to his nephew Balthasar Hasan-Jalaliants whom the Russians recognized as the metropolitan of Karabagh. This Metropolitan Balthasar died in 1870 and the title "metropolitan" was not used again, the succeeding prelates of Karabagh being accorded simply the rank of archbishop of Shushi (Ormanian, 1954: p. 208).

23. The *Qizilbashi-s* or *Kizilbashi-s* (Tk. "red-heads," so-called from their distinctive headdress of red cloth) were not an ethnic group but rather a Shi'ite Muslim military force that played a major role in the establishment of the Safavid dynasty of Persia and later in its support. Recruited from the Turkoman populations in Anatolia, Syria, and Iraq, they flourished between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries and strongly adhered to Shi'ite doctrines. In Persia, the Qizilbash were a major factor in the success of the Safavid Empire, providing soldiers for its armies and advancing the Persian economy, literature, and the arts. In addition, many Qizilbash became *ayatollah-s* or *mujtahid-s* (senior Shi'a religious scholars), teaching the Persian

masses Shi'ite religious beliefs and practices. Qizilbash tribes played an important role in southeast Caucasia. Under Safavid rule, most of the territory of modern Azerbaijan and Iranian Azerbaijan became Shi'ite and Turkic-speaking through Qizilbash effort.

24. Barkhudar, obviously another freedom fighter, is otherwise unknown but the name suggests some connection with the house of Barkhudarian, meliks of Goris in Siunik.

25. *Khontpar*. The text is damaged and unclear at this point and leaves open what *khontpar* is meant to be. If a toponym, there is no such locality cited in the *HHSHTB*.

26. Ali-agha was perhaps the Ali-pasha who was Ottoman governor of Shaki during the brief Ottoman occupation of the khanate in the 1720s. *Agha* is a Turkish term of respect usually affixed to a man's personal name.

27. The "gorge of Gargar" would be that of the Gargar River.

28. It is at this point that the Tübingen ms. of the text begins, the previous page being missing in the xerox copy obtained by this editor from the University of Tübingen library in 1987 and which was restored from the photocopy of the original in the Matenadaran in Erevan.

29. Suleiman-Beg was an Ottoman commander serving under the authority of the khan of Erevan. He was murdered in Karabagh in 1733 (*infra* n. 31). *Beg* (Arm. *bek*) was a Turkish military title originally signifying an officer but early on it became an honorific freely used for any lesser grandee. It was usually affixed to a man's personal name.

30. Hasan is not identified by the author with any particular region or melik house. Since he is not designated a melik it is difficult to determine to which house he belonged or what precisely is meant by his "state." "Hasan," however, may have been the Muslim name of some prince otherwise known to us only by his Armenian name.

31. This Melik Baghir is not to be confused with Bagir (sic, *supra* n. 9), the comrade-in-arms of Avan-yüzbashi, but is unknown from the genealogy of the house of Melik-Avaniants. Baghir, like Hasan (*supra* n. 30), may have been the Muslim name of some prince otherwise known only by his Armenian name, perhaps a member of the family, who acted as regent while the melik was away on campaign. The "state" of Melik Baghir then would have been the Avanid melikdom of Dizak.

32. The fort of Shushi was rebuilt and expanded into a fortress by Panah Ali khan in the years 1750-1752. Ashot Hovannisan (*Ioannisian*), quoted in S. Mkrtchyan and S. Davtyan (1999), p. 9, asserts that the original fort of Shushi was actually founded by Avan yüzbashi in 1724 "if not earlier." There is a tendency at this point in the Mkrtchyan-Davtyan book to confuse references to the fortress with those to the large village of Shosh (Shosh > *Shushiberd* "fortress of Shosh" > *Shushi* > Russ. *Shusha*) that gave the stronghold its name and was undoubtedly much older than the latter. The reference here must be to the village. For details on Shushi, see the *Intro-*

duction.

33. Avetaranots “Gospel village” was originally a Muslim locality called *Chanakhchi* (a common name for a Turkish village, suggesting a local pottery enterprise). Avetaranots became the seat of a branch of the house of Melik-Shahnazarians after it had been given the district of Varanda by Shah Abbas I (1588-1629) in 1606. The name “Gospel village” refers to a ms. of the Gospels copied in a convent there by Gayane, sister of Avanyüzbaşı and wife of Melik Hussein of Varanda, who slew Suleiman-beg, who had been pressing the melik to give her to him as his wife. She had retired to this convent to atone for her crime and while there had copied the Gospels that gave the village its Armenian name.

34. Shaki or Shekki; Arm. *Shake*. A Muslim khanate lying north of the River Kur opposite Gardman (for which see *infra* n. 36). The center of the khanate lay at the town of Shaki, later known as *Nukha* from 1819 to 1960 and since then, once again as Shaki. (Atkin, 1976: pp. 109-111; Hewsen 1992, p. 145, n. 74). For details on Shaki, see the *Introduction*.

35. The Lesghians or Lesguis are one of the larger tribes of the northeast Caucasus range. They were notorious for their raids into Georgia, Shirvan, and Eastern Armenia. See NK I (1960), pp. 503-519.

36. Gardmandzor “Gardman Valley,” more commonly called simply *Gardman*, was a principality of ancient and early medieval Armenia located on the eastern slopes of the Armenian Plateau between Karabagh on the south, the River Kur on the north, and Lake Sevan on the West (Eremyan 1963, p. 46; Hewsen 1992, p. 269, n. 163a).

37. Shirvan was a large Muslim khanate in southeastern Caucasia lying between Shaki and the Caspian Sea (Atkins 1976:102-109) and centered at the city of Shemakhi. For details on Shirvan and Shemakhi see the *Introduction*.

38. This data surrounding the departure of Avan from his native land and his subsequent demise in Russia make it absolutely certain that he is not to be confused with Melik Egan, who was buried in Karabagh (*infra*, n. 63).

39. Arm. *Mrav-Sar*; Turkish: *Muravdaghi*; Russ. *Mravdag*, are the mountains running west to east separating the melikdom of Giulistan on the north from the rest of Karabagh to the south. The name, meaning “mountain of death,” is said to refer to the murder of Varaz-Trdat and his young son Stephen that took place in the valley of Dadivank at the mountain’s foot in 822 (MD/MK III.22). His widow married her daughter Spram to Atrnerseh, prince of Khachen, who was the son of Sahl or Isaac (*Sahak*), prince of Si-unik (*ibid.*). See Dowsett in his Eng. trans. of MD/MK, p. 226, nn. 2 and 3).

40. Handaberd or Handu Castle was a fortress founded in the ninth century by Atrnerseh, son of Sahl (see previous note 39), on the upper reaches of the Trtu or Tartar River (Azeri: *Tertər*) in the shadow of the Mrav-sar Mountains (MD/MK III.22). The fortress is located atop a steep wooded peak between the present villages of Chapni and Ganlikend, 600m to the

south on the left bank of the River Lev. In 1312, Handaberd was mentioned in a colophon in the Holy Bible of Targmanchats Monastery (Khachakap) as one of the fortresses belonging to the Dopian principality. The inside area of the fortress, which is surrounded with a rectangular wall, was 92 by 60m. The average thickness of the defense wall is 1,3m. The maximal height of the preserved walls is 8m.

41. The so-called “tent people” (*vranabnakner*) were the semi-nomadic Muslim herders, who each year brought their flocks from the lowlands of Shirvan to the summer pasture available in Karabagh. Here the author contrasts them to the mountain dwellers or local population (*lernakanner*).

42. Kuank, properly *Kuenk*, was a medieval Aghuan district referred to in the ASX as *Mets-Kuenk* (Hewsen, 1992, p. 195, n. 209; 199, n. 213). It was located along the middle course of the Trtu or Tartar River. For some reason, although the ASX (*ibid.* p. 65 [V.22.x]) refers to the district as *Mets* (“Greater”) *Kuenk*, no reference is anywhere made to a *Pokr* (“Lesser”) *Kuenk* that the name *Mets Kuenk* would presuppose.

43. The Rmbost or Rmbostian Mountains (*Rmbisar or Urumbasar*) lay at the southeast corner of Lake Sevan (*HHShTB* 4, pp. 444, 446). They are now called the “East Sevan Range.”

44. The Sot or Sawt Plateau is the high plain located at the southeast corner of Lake Sevan centered in the modern village of Zod near the entrance to the Zod Pass connecting the basin of the lake with that of the Trtu / Tartar River valley of northwestern Karabagh. In the Middle Ages, the name was usually spelled *Tsawdk* or *Sawdt* and only later *Zod* (Hewsen, 1992, p. 193, n. 196).

45. Dutadzan or Ktughkasar, the first name of which is doubtless an error for **Diutakan*, a royal village and summer residence of the the Aghuan kings (Thierry, 1991, p. 110), on the middle course of the Trtu / Tartar River cited by MD/MK (I.21, 23; II.10) and spelled correctly further below in the text. M. Barkhudarians (1902, p. 31) calls it *Diudakan* and describes it as lying near Madaghis village (which still exists) and as being in ruins in his time. Under the name *Ktughkasar* it is cited as being near the ruins of Diutakan (*HHShTB* 3, p. 128.).

46. According to Tournanoff (*Manuel*, p. 307), Melik Isaiah died *ca.* 1725. His son, Ali Ghuli-sultan then reigned over Jraberd from *ca.* 1725 to 1755. *Ghuli* is the Armenian form of the Muslim title *qoli*, meaning “slave.” Ali is being described as the shah’s slave, a way of flattering one’s political overlord. The title “sultan” was bestowed upon Ali by Nadir-Shah; we don’t know his Armenian name.

47. Upper Khachen or Tsar (earlier Vaykunik) was the valley along the uppermost course of the Trtu / Tartar River. Here lay the melikdom of Tsar centered at the large village of that name.

48. Hawkkakhaghats, properly **Hawakhaghats* the “magpie’s fortress,” was a stronghold in the melikdom of Upper Khachen or Tsar located on the

top of a high mountain. First mentioned by MDM/K (III.22) in the mid-ninth century as *Hawakhaghatsi berd*, it was built by Gregory, son of Atrnerseh, prince of Khachen (*supra* nn. 37, 38; HHS_{HTB}, Vol III, p. 376.). Its remains are still impressive and may be seen from a great distance on a mountaintop towering over the forests of Khachen (HSH 5, pp. 25-26; personal observation, 1999).

49. Handaberd. *Supra*, n. 40.

50. Haterk (Russ. *Aterk*). A village with a small melikal "palace" in the central valley of the Trtu / Tartar River. It was one of the two centers of the house of Hasan-Jalaliants (HSH 6, p. 46); the other being Akan or Akana.

51. Akan, properly *Akana*, the second of the two centers of the house of Hasan-Jalaliants, also located in the central valley of the Trtu / Tartar River (HSH 1, p. 220).

52. The smallest of the five melikdoms, Jraberd or *Chraberd*, lying between those of Giulistan and Khachen, was centered at the castle of the same name, residence of the Melik-Israeliants family. It owed its name "water castle" to its location on a peak within the juncture of the Trtu / Tartar River and one of its small tributaries, which together almost completely surround it. (HSH 9, p. 524; Hewsen, 1972, p. 300).

53. Atpatakan, Eng. *Azerbaijan*, but here referring not the present day Republic of Azerbaijan lying north of the River Arax (= a purely Soviet-era designation for southeast Caucasia) but rather to the Iranian province of that name lying south of the river. The use of the name Azerbaijan for any land north of the Arax River is a twentieth century phenomenon and suggests a claim of the former Soviet Union and modern Azeri Republic upon the original province of that name.

54. Panah Ali was an Azeri adventurer of the Javanshir clan, who, after the death of Nadir-Shah in 1747, styled himself "Panah-khan," and thereafter devoted himself to acquiring Karabagh as his personal khanate, ultimately securing control of what had been until that time the lands of the five meliks. For details see the *Historical Introduction*.

55. Text: *Ibragim*—a Russian spelling because the Russian alphabet has no "h." Its use here is a lapsus—probably unintentional—due to the author's frequent use of the Russian language.

56. Sarujal was the paternal grandfather of Panah-khan. Mirza Adigözel (1950) calls him "Sarija Ali" in his *Karabagh-nameh* (for which see the English translation in Bournoutian's *Two Chronicles*, 2004, p. 155).

57. The reference here is to Genghis or properly Chingiz khan, the great Mongol warlord and conqueror (r. 1206-1227), from whom many Central Asian dynasties traced their ancestry real, supposed, or pretended.

58. The *Karabagh-nameh* of Mirza Adigözel of Lori was one of the chief sources of Archbishop Sergius (Raffi, *Khamsayi*, ed. 1906, p. 303) although this reference is his only citation of it. His *History*, written in Azeri Turkish in the Persian script, was published in Baku in 1950 as a photocopy of the

original ms. prefaced by a Russian translation. The *Karabagh-nameh* has been translated into English by G. Bournoutian in his *Two Chronicles* (2004).

59. Nadir shah II (1736-1747), member of the Turkmen tribe called *Afshar*, was a leading warrior and has been called the last great Asian conqueror. He deposed the last Safavid ruler, the youthful Abbas III, and by the acclamation of his followers, became shah of Persia on March 8, 1736 at a great *qoroltai* (or *kuriltai*) held in the plain of Mughan, a great conclave to which the American Indian “pow-wow” is related but which is but a pale reflection of a *kuriltai*.

60. The month of *Zantahar* is probably a copyist’s error for *Zartayin* “awakening,” a nineteenth century neologism for the month of March coined by the writer Michael Nalbandian (1829-1866).

61. Heidar-Ghuli, was the khan of Nakhichevan (see Bournoutian’s English translation of the *Karabagh-Nameh* (*Karabagh Book*) of Mirza Jamal Javanshir (2004), p. 61, and p. 166, where his incitement is mentioned.

62. According to Toumanoff (1976, p. 307) Melik Adam I of Jraberd (1761-1780/2), incidentally a grandnephew of Israel Ori, was the son and not the brother of Melik Agha-Ghuli.

63. This section on the deeds of Melik Egan, coming so quickly after the description of the deeds of Avan III, again makes it clear that Melik Egan and Avan III were two different people.

64. Ardvi (also known as *Argu*, *Aragvi*, and *Melikgiugh* or *Melikyand*, the last two names both meaning “melik-village” in, respectively, Armenian and Azeri), is a village located nine km. southeast of the town of Alaverdi in the northern part of the Armenian Republic in what was formerly Tumanyan district (*raion*). It lies on the left bank of the upper course of the Debed(a) River (*HHSHTB*, I, p. 415).

65. The house of Loris-Melikian, i.e. “meliks of Lori,” was descended from a certain Vasak or Smbat (who Toumanoff, *Manuel*, p. 73, assumed to be identical although they could have been two relatives), a son of Hasan I the Great (d. p. 1201), paternal grandfather of Hasan-Jalal-Dola (r. ca. 1214-1265/6). The house of Lori was thus a collateral line of the house of Siunik alongside of the Vakhtankeants and the Dopeants. The genealogy in Alishan (1993, p. 64) wisely, I believe, assumes that Vasak and Smbat are two different individuals and indicates them as, respectively, father and son.

66. The monk Luke (Arm. *Ghukas*) was born *Moses*, the son of Melik Bakhtam of the princely dynasty that ruled over Lori-Somkhi. He flourished ca. 1670 and, although at one time he was a married man with a family (by his wife Mariam, he sired three children: Egan, Aram, and Anna), he later opted for the religious life as a *vardapet* (teaching monk) at the monastery of Sanahin to the northeast of Lori. Toumanoff (*Manuel*, p. 258), identifies Luke vardapet as the father of a single individual, whom he cites as “Avan III / Egan II,” but Archbishop Sergius shows that it was Egan II who was

father of Egan, not of Avan III). That it was Melik Egan and not Melik Avan, who was the son of Luke vardapet is proven by the inscription over the door of the residence of Melik Egan (1716-1744) in the village of Togh or Dogh dated 1667 (which Thierry, p. 179, corrects to 1707).

67. This Elizbar must belong to the main line of the Avanids, who ruled over Lori-Somkhiti, but the only Elizbar in that genealogy (*fl.* 1713), a contemporary of Melik Egan, was not a ruler of all Lori and Tashir. See Toumanoff (1976, p. 255).

68. Tashir (Geo. *Tashiri*) was an Armenian district of which the fortress of Lori was the center (Hewsen, 1992, p. 139, n. 58).

69. Greater Javet (**Jav[akh]Jet?*). Probably *Verin* “Upper” *Javakhk* (Geo. *Javakheti*), the area of the Georgian lake district claimed today by both Armenia and Georgia (Hewsen, 1992, pp. 200-203).

70. Babajan Gorge. The *HHShtB* 1, p. 525, cites nine localities named Babajan “father dear” but there is no specific entry for a Babajan Gorge, thus the reference here must be to a gorge in which the village was either located or which lay nearby.

71. Togh or Dogh. A large village that served as the center of the melikdom of Dizak (Thierry, pp. 173-183). It contains two churches (St. Stephen and St. John), a convent (Kusanots *anapat* “hermitage”), *infra* n. 73), a fortress, a funerary chapel, and a melikal residence that in 1999 was still inhabited by a Muslim branch of the original family. This village is not to be confused (as I have done elsewhere) with one called *Degh* by Smith and Dwight, the first Americans to travel through Armenia (1831, II, p. 218). *Degh* is actually *Tegh*, a village in the Armenian Republic on the road between Shushi and Goris.

72. Dizak. The southernmost melikdom of Karabagh. Once known as *Mius-Haband* “The Other Haband” as opposed to the Haband proper in Siunik (*supra* n. 19; Hewsen, 1992 p. 199, n. 216) and later as Baghk (not to be confused with the Baghk in Siunik) appears to have been the property of the Aranshahikids, the first royal dynasty of Aghuank. Deposed in the first century CE, the dynasty was still in existence in Dizak as late as the thirteenth. This Baghk was acquired by Hasan-Jalal through his marriage to Sempan-Mamkan, the granddaughter of the last king of Baghk, who died without male issue in 1261 (Toumanoff, 1976, p. 72). It has been speculated by Ulubabyan (1961, chap. 1) that the term *Karabagh* actually means *Kara-Baghk* “Greater Baghk” a later name for Khachen, as a result of this marriage.

73. The monastery of Gtich (or *Gtchivank*, *Gtavank* or *Gtghvank*), is properly called *Gtish*, (Thierry, 1991, pp. 179-182, 241). Gtish lies in the melikdom of Dizak not far to the west of the village of Togh, the residence of the Avanid meliks of Dizak. Attested from the eighth century, the monastery was once the center of an active scriptorium and the seat of a bishop. Restored by Melik Egan II in 1721, it was still active as late as the mid-

nineteenth century but was badly damaged in an earthquake of 1868.

74. This sentence is an example of oriental hyperbole. This editor has visited Togh twice. The church, now sadly ruined, is small in size and so is the fortress (which is more in the way of a rambling fort). The "palace" is a modest structure solidly built of stone but whose second floor was constructed of wood with a shingled roof (Thierry, 1991, pp. 178-179).

75. This meeting possibly took place at the time of the coronation of Nadir-Shah in the plain of Mughan in 1737, when dignitaries of every rank, both Muslim and Christian, religious and secular, Armenian, Persian, and Azeri-Turk attended from all over Persia, South Caucasia, and perhaps even further afield.

76. Bayad or Bayat fortress was built by Panah Ali Javanshir in 1748 in the low-lying vicinity of the later town of Shushi and was ruined in the local wars before the end of the century (*HHShtB I*, p. 585).

77. For Togh, see *supra*, n. 71.

78. By Hasan-Ali-khan would probably be meant Shah Husayn II (1753-1786).

79. Mt. Togh would be the 1,450m hill to the west of the village of the same name in the melikdom of Dizak (Thierry, 1991, p. 180).

80. The date given, 1292 of the Armenian calendar, is off by a century (1844 as opposed to 1744). See Toumanoff (1976, p. 258), where Egan II is confused with Avan III, as if two alternate names were assigned to the same person, but where, however, the two names actually designate two different people.

81. This inscription, composed in the rhyming epitaphs popular in Eastern Armenia in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, is here quoted by Sergius from memory. The inscription in rough Classical Armenian, is found in M. Barkhudareants (1895, rep. 1999, pp. 198-199) and reads (*sic*):

"Ays e tapan kach ishkhanin
 Ekan anun mets Melikin
 Or e ordi barepashtin
 Ghukas anun vardapetin
 Eghew sirtseal amenaynin
 Natir anun tagaworin
 Tirapeteats say i erkrin
 I Aghuanits i nahangin
 Yoyzh patuetsaw Parsits azgen
 Kan zishkhans Hayots erkrin 1744

This is the tomb of the brave prince,
 The great melik, Egan by name,
 Who is the son of the pious
 Vardapet Luke by name.
 He was beloved above all

By King Nadir by name.
He ruled over the country
And the state of Aghuank.

He was much honored by the Persian nation
Above [all] princes of the Armenian nation [died] 1744.

This inscription, formerly in the tomb of the Melik Avaniants family in Togh, no longer exists. The tomb itself has been destroyed (Thierry, p. 178) and the inscription is not cited by S. Barkhudaryan (1982).

82. Haji Chelebi, khan of Shaki (1743-1755), was the grandson of a certain Basil (*Barsegh*), an Armenian cleric known to the Muslims as *Qara Keshish* “the Black Priest” (Arm. *Sev-kahana*). This priest was a scion of the house of Hasan-Jalaliants, who migrated from Khachen to the village of Sogutlu in the region of Kabala, north of the River Kur, where he had ambitions to establish a melikdom of his own. To this end he petitioned the shah to grant him a decree to this effect. A local melik, one Muhammad in the village of Ghurtgachi, an Armenian who had converted to Islam, attempted to circumvent this petition but the priest Basil thwarted him by becoming a Muslim, himself, and although his son Ghasab Ghurban Ali was only a butcher, Ali’s son became the Haji Chelebi of our story, the founder of the line of the hereditary khans of Shirvan. See Raffi, *Khamsayi* 1906) XIII, p. 72, n. 1.

83. This reference to the “elders” suggests the author’s debt to the oral transmission of some of the facts that he relates.

84. Karadagh (Arm.: *Gharadagh*) was a khanate lying in the mountains south of the Arax River that the river separates from the Karabagh (Art-sakh) Mountains to the north. It possibly corresponds to Parspatunik, the most easterly district of the Armenian land of Vaspurakan (Eremyan, 1963, p. 77 and map).

85. Paytakaran was a large land of Armenia lying southeast of the Arax River. (Hewsen, 1992, pp. 253-260 and map XXI, p. 67A). Eremyan (1963, p. 88 and map), confusing the city of Paytakaran with the city of Baylakan located between the juncture of the Kur and Arax Rivers, has the land of Paytakaran extend beyond the Arax; it lay, however, entirely to the south of that river which formed its northern boundary.

86. At the Georgian court, *vekil* meant “chancellor” and was the equivalent of a *vizir* (Bournoutian, 1998, p. 506). Its meaning here is probably the same, for Sapar is described as one of Melik Egan’s “closest servants” and “chief servant,” which suits a somewhat elevated position. Sapar must have been a sort of prime minister for Egan II and we are told here that he retained this dignity under Egan’s son, Melik Isaiah.

87. The text has Melik *Bagir* (a Russianism for *Baghir*, d. 1644, *supra* n. 9). Here Archbishop Sergius or his informant is confused. Melik Baghir (d. 1644) was indeed the son of Mirza-bek [III], son of Melik-bek [II], but Melik-bek [II] (d. 1578) was the *father* of Shahnazar I, not his nephew, *i.e.* the son of his brother (Toumanoff, 1976, p. 247). This is the type of genealogi-

cal error cited by Raffi (*Khamsayi*, ed. 1906, p. 303)) and which he used to discredit the work of Archbishop Sergius.

88. When Shah Abbas I honored the family of Melik Shahnazar I (r. 1578-1606), he gave additional lands to the latter, who gave part of them to his brother Mirza III (1606-?), who received Varanda in Karabagh as his domain (Toumanoff, 1976, p. 247), a territory that must have been wrested from the Hasan-Jalaliants family of Khachen. Shahnazar gave another part of his grant from Shah Abbas to a second brother, who founded the line of the meliks of Gardman, north of Giulistan.

89. Gegham, formerly Gegha[r]kunik, is the district that almost completely surrounds Lake Sevan except along its northwestern and northeastern shores. It had its own line of meliks, who came to be known as the house of *Geghamian* (Russ. *Gegamov*), and who were prominent in Ereven in Russian Armenia during the nineteenth century (see *Vostan*, I.1, 1948-1949, pp. 249-251).

90. The marauding tribes in question would have almost certainly have been the Lesguians'.

91. Varanda, the south central portion of Highland Karabagh. Originally a part of Khachen (as attested here by Archbishop Sergius), this territory was cut off from Khachen by Shah Abbas I in the early seventeenth century and given to Melik Shahnazar I (r. 1578-1606), prince of Gegham (Arakel of Tabriz. Eng. trans. G. Bournoutian, 2000, p.78; Raffi, *Khamsayi*, ed. 1906, p.17), who gave it to his brother as a second Shahnazarid melikdom (*supra*, n. 88). The fortress-town, later city, of Shushi lay in Varanda.

92. This is not exactly how a branch of the house of Melik-Shahnazarants came to settle in Varanda for which see the much more nearly contemporaneous account of Arakel of Tabriz, *supra*, n. 90.

93. Further oriental exaggeration. [This editor has visited Avetaranots twice. The constructions visible there today are quite modest in size although the fortress, stretching along the crest of a hill, offers excellent views of the vicinity — RHH].

94. The Virgins' Convent or hermitage (Arm. *Kusanats anapat*) is located to the northwest of Avetaranots. Built in 1616, it stands on the site of an earlier church of the pre-Arab period dedicated to St. Gayane (Thierry, 1991, pp. 156-157).

95. St. *Vardan*. Here the epitaph associates the history of Artsakh with that of the whole of Armenia by recalling the saint's resistance to the Persian invaders in the fifth century.

96. The date 1710 for the death of Melik Hussein cannot be correct unless it possibly refers to his father, Shahnazar II, on whose tomb the inscription is found. This date for the death of Shahnazar II is possible but he is said to have died in 1686. This inscription, perhaps copied erroneously, is not cited in Barkhudaryan (1982) and has apparently disappeared. Note: Shahnazar II was the second of that name only if we count Shahnazar of Gegham as the

first (as is being done here—see n. 90).

97. This would be the third Shahnazar of the family of Varanda but only if we count Shahnazar of Gegham as the first (as is being done here). Occasionally, in secondary works the evil Shahnazar is called Shahnazar II rather than Shahnazar III if we count only the Shahnazars in the line of Varanda—see n. 96. Tagum, more usually *Taguhi* “queen,” was the daughter of Ahmed, a prince of the Hasan-Jalaliants family, meliks of Khachen. (Toumanoff, 1976, p.245).

98. Sona was the daughter of Isaiah, melik of Dizak (1747-1781; Toumanoff, 1976, p. 248).

99. Lady Malaka (*sic*); less properly *Malayik*, princess of Khachen, was the daughter of a brother of Shahnazar III’s first wife, Tagum / Taguhi (Toumanoff, *ibid.*).

100. The text has *omn* “somebody” in the sense of “anyone” meaning that Panah had previously been “anyone at all,” *i.e.* a nobody.

101. This Tnkranakert or Tekrakerte [*Tigranakert*] is not to be confused with the great city of Tigranakert (Lat. *Tigranocerta*) founded by the Armenian Emperor Tigran II the Great in the first century BCE, later *Arzan*, which lay in south central Armenia. The one cited here is probably the ruins standing near the site of present-day Shah-Bulagh (Thierry, 1991, p. 150), which was being excavated in the very early twenty-first century.

102. For *estate* the text has *agarak*, a synonym for *dastakert*, both of which in Classical Armenian (*Grabar*) signify an estate. In modern Armenian an *agarak* is a farm (*cf.* Lat. *ager* “field;” Eng. *acre*).

103. *Khamsa*. From Arabic *khams* “five.” Umfamiliar with Arabic, many authors refer to the *Khamsayi Melikutunner* as “the meliks of Khamsa,” apparently taking *khamsa* as a placename.

104. Melik Mirza-khan, belonged to none of the traditional melik houses and the family is not cited in the appropriate point in *HSH* 7, p. 617, but it was given the melikdom of Khachen by the Muslims in 1755 and held it, even after the Russian occupation, until 1854.

105. Kainen or Kayen was a fortress built in 1233 to defend the approach to the monastery of Haghpat. It lay on the left bank of the Aghstew River (Russ. *Akstafa*), whose valley was here known as Kainen. In the ms. of this text, the writer repeated this line a second time and then crossed out the duplication, starting with “engaged in cordial friendship...” VA thinks that this passage is copied from an earlier, original ms., and that this mechanical error can be explained because of this.

106. For Panah-khan see the *Introduction*.

107. Text: *Teymuraz*, throughout. This Georgian form is used in this translation.

108. Adam I (r. 1761-1780/2), of the house of Israeliian, meliks of Jraberd.

109. Melik Joseph (Arm. *Yovsep*, 1728-1775) was of the house of Beglariants (a family also called *Aboviants*), meliks of Giulistan. The author

Khachatur Abovian was a descendant of a branch of this house settled at Kanaker, a village to the north of Erevan, now a part of the city, itself.

110. The Muslims referred to here would be the local Turks north of the Arax River, now known as Azeri-s or Azerbaijani Turks.

111. The omitted phrase is not legible, but this is what it appears to mean—K.V.K.].

112. The Ossetians are an Iranian-speaking people of the central Caucasus range descended, at least in part, from the powerful Alan horde of ancient and medieval times. Some of the Ossetians are still Christian (as were their Alan ancestors) while others have converted to Islam, see *NK* (1960) I, *passim*; *idem.* (1962) II. 5, 213, 227.

113. The Khevsur-s are a Georgian mountain tribe living at the source of the Aragvi River in the Caucasus Mountains of northeast central Georgia (*NK* II (1962), pp. 212, 235, 252, 305. 313, 334), along with the Georgian-speaking Pshav-s (*ibid.*, 212, 311, 313) and Tushin-s (*ibid.* 212, 253).

114. The city of Gandzak (Tk. *Gence* or *Ganja*) lies in the lowlands between the rivers Arax and Kur on the road from Shushi northwest to Tiflis / Tbilisi and was the center of the khanate of Ganja. Called *Gandzhak* by the Russians until 1804, it was then renamed *Elizavetpol'* but became *Genje* in 1918 only to be renamed *Kirovabad* in 1935 after Sergei Kirov, a major figure in Soviet political life until he was assassinated in 1934. The city then reverted to the Azeri form of the original name, *Gence*, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. The town had a large Armenian population and there were four Armenian melikdoms in the khanate. Gandzak, lying astride on the Ganja River in Azerbaijan, is not to be confused with the Gandzak Shahastan southwest of Lake Urmia (*HSH* 2, pp. 685-686).

115. Text: *Avshar Patali*, properly **Afshar Fathali*. From his family name, Afshar, he was a member of the line of Nadir Shah.

116. The year 1282. As per the Persian calendar? An Armenian date (1282 + 552) would give a CE reckoning of 1734, which is too early for this event, which took place after the rise of Panah khan. VA thinks that the author uses Armenian and Persian calendars interchangeably. Also, the coming chapter speaks of 1764 and calls it “the same year.”

117. *Mairakaghak*, literally “mother-city,” is a calque on the Greek *metropolis*, the capital city of a country or a province. In this case, the “metropolis,” site of Melik Adam’s palace, would be the “capital” of Jraberd, i.e. the castle of the same name.

118. Mt. Mrav. *Supra* n. 37. Jraberd castle is actually on a height overlooking the the Trtu / Terter gorge south of the line of the Mrav-sar mountains (personal observation, 1999 – RHH)

119. Bishop Avag, the *Dali Mahrassa* “Mad Monk,” often mentioned by Raffi (ed. 1906, pp. 63 *passim*).

120. Text: *Elisua-khan*. The khan or sultan of Elisu ruled over a small territory at the foot of the Caucasus Mountains along the Alazani River between

Belokani on the west and Nukha (or *Shaki*) on the east. The sultanate was established by Shah Abbas I in the early seventeenth century and annexed by Russia in 1803, together with the adjacent sultanate of Char Belokani. Elisu corresponds to the present Georgian land of Saingilo, which is now a part of the Republic of Azerbaijan inhabited by the Ingilo, a Muslim Georgian population,

121. Jermuk. There were several places in Armenia by this name “warm [waters].” This would appear to be the one near Jraberd (*HHShtB*, 4, p. 401).

122. Karim-khan Zand, one of the generals of Nadir Shah and *de facto* shah of Iran (1760-1779). Although he never actually called himself “shah,” he was the founder of the short-lived Zand dynasty, which came to an end in 1794. He is remembered as having been a good and just ruler, who brought a period of peace to his country.

123. Nuskhal was the son of Omar, khan of Daghestan (Avaria) who died in 1774. Nuskhal would have been a brother-in-law of Panah Ali, khan of Karabagh, who had married Omar’s daughter.

124. Melik Gharaman was of the house of Mirza-Bekiants that Panah Ali had made meliks of Khachen after removing the Hasan-Jalaliants family from its ancestral domains.

125. “Igirmidyord called *Diutakan* in the past.” But see *Supra* n. 45 and *infra* n. 131.

126. Text: *Yavur*. This descent of Melik Beglar as a son of Melik Isakhan, a son of Melik Eavr, contradicts the descent given by Toumanoff (1976, pp. 250-251) as: “Melik Beglar I, son of Abov the Black (?-1632), son of David yüzbashi...” although, since in both cases Beglar I is made the father of the same two sons, Melik Abov II the Lame (?-1728) and Teymuraz (executed 1728), the Beglar in question must be the same Beglar I. Either the information of our author must be erroneous or the descent must be restudied on the basis of all our information taken together. Toumanoff’s data is drawn from the work of a certain Apres Beknazarians (1886), a source denounced by Raffi in a lengthy critique (1906) as unreliable and perhaps not as likely to have been as valid as those otherwise available to him. On the other hand, *Apres Beknazarians* was a pseudonym used by Makar Barkhudarians, Bishop of Shemakhi, a native of Karabagh and a recognized scholar, who is unlikely to have deliberately falsified his source material (Meneshian, pp. 210-213).

127. “From the kindred and generations of Siunik and Arran.” Here the author shows a knowledge of the general ancestry of the meliks, who were indeed descended both from the royal houses of Siunik and Aghuank, though he knows nothing of their descent from the kings of Armenia and those of Persia, by which they were descended from two of the earliest royal houses of the world (Toumanoff, 1976, *passim*).

128. Nij (earlier *Nizh*; Gk. *Niga*) is a very ancient village in Aghuank. It is

located in the northwestern part of the Republic of Azerbaijan between the Turian River and Kabala, the original capital of Aghuank to the east of it.

129. Zarghun, possibly **Ardun*, an initial z' being the Classical Armenian indicator of the dative case. The Parthians called the whole of Aghuank *Ardan*.

130. This book by Melik Beglar has not survived but much of its content may be included in the well-known *History of Aghuank* by Catholicos Isaiah Hasan-Jalaliants (1702-1728), which is much concerned with the general region of Nij north of the River Kur.

131. Giulistan fortress, also known as *Talish*, *Izirmidord*, *Ikirmidord*, or *Ikirmidort* was the center of Giulistan, the northernmost melikdom of Karabagh. The fortress lay just outside the village of Giulistan on the Inja River (*HHSHTB* I p. 906).

132. Melik Abov II (d. 1728) was succeeded by his brother Melik Taymuzraz, who was briefly acting as regent of Giulistan and who was hanged by Joseph I and Adam I the same year.

133. Elisaeus (Arm.: *Eghishe*; Eng. *Elishah*), namesake of the church at Horek, was one of the seventy disciples of the original twelve. It was he who, according to local legend, introduced Christianity to Aghuank (MD/MK I.6).

134. Horek (*Horekavank*), was a monastery near the fortress of Giulistan (Thierry, pp. 110-102).

135. Shamkor (also *Shamkor*, *Shamkour* and *Shamkir*) was a large town on the eastern edge of the Armenian Plateau just east of the right bank of the Dzagir (or Shamkor) River. First mentioned in the seventh century, the town became an important commercial center in the Arab and post-Arab periods (seventh-thirteenth centuries) but was destroyed by the invading Mongols in 1235. Occupied by the Russians in 1803, the important German colony of *Annenfeld* arose here in the mid-nineteenth century and for a brief time (1928-1937), in the Soviet period, it was known as *Annino* (*HSH* 8, p. 443). The German population was deported to Central Asia at the outset of the German invasion of the Soviet Union. The town, lying in the Republic of Azerbaijan, was renamed *Shamkir* in 1991.

136. *Vahramashen*. In the Middle Ages, the region around Shamkor had been the property of the Vahramiants family. This is the only citation of the town ever having been called *Vahramashen* "Vahram's village."

137. The Giulistan River would be the present *Inja-chai*.

138. Shahverdi, khan of Ganja (1740-1761).

139. Text: *struk-k* 'slaves' but this term seems inaccurate for the period in question (see *Vostan*, 1948-1949, pp. 249-251).

140. In Persia the kalantar was the secular chief or mayor of a town. Nadir Shah must have endowed Mekhitar with the title along with the jurisdiction he gave him over the lands he governed in Utik.

141. Gharamurad, was a locality apparently lying between Tiflis and

Gandzak.

142. The Khevsur-s, a Georgian tribe already noted (*supra*, n. 113;) dwell in upland Georgia around the sources of the Aragvi River in the Caucasus Mountains. The “town of the Khevsurs,” *i.e.* their tribal center, could hardly have been located on the River Khram, which flows far south of the Caucasus Mountains to enter the Kur River from the right, and this must be an error on the part of Archbishop Sergius or perhaps refers to a town on the Khram where Khevsur troops were stationed by the Georgian king.

143. The River Khram (Geo. *Khrami*) is the major right hand tributary of the River Kur in Georgia.

144. For the ruins of Shamkhor to lie on the bank of the Arek River, the Arek must be an affluent of the Shamkhor River. The modern town of Shamkhor (Azeri *Shamkir*), lies 20 kms. to the west of the ruins. *Supra*, n. 135.

145. Javad-khan Ziyad oghlu Qajar was the last ruler of the khanate of Ganje (1785 to 1804). He was killed with both his sons during the Russian siege of Gandzak by General Tsitsianov in 1804.

146. The ruler of Jraberd at this time would have been Melik Mejlum (1780/2-1796).

147. Catholic Church. The term “catholic” is used here in its original sense of “universal” or “patriarchal” and, although there had been a formal Armenian Catholic Church established by the Vatican in 1742, the author does not refer to the Roman Catholic Church *per se*.

148. Gregory Potemkin (1739-1791). The Russian field marshall, who, for much of the reign of Catherine the Great (1762-1796), was her favorite and her chief advisor, and for whom she had high ambitions in Caucasia.

149. Joseph Archbishop Arghutian-Erkaynabazuk (1743-1801, Russ. *Argutinsky-Dolgoruky*), one of the most distinguished Armenians of his day, was the decidedly pro-Russian Armenian archbishop of Tiflis and of all the Armenians in Russia (r. 1773-1801) and a noted military commander as well. The names *Erkaynabazuk* and *Dolgoruky* both mean “long arm” in, respectively, Armenian and Russian, as does *Mkhargrdzeli*, the Georgian name for the family. The house is known from the thirteenth century and still exists (Toumanoff, 1990, chart 63, pp. 295.)

150. *Dashnagir*. From *dashn* “compact,” “contract,” “treaty,” and *gir* “letter” or “writing;” literally: “treaty document.”

151. Daniel-yüzbaşı is probably the Daniel yüzbaşı who was the father of Alaverdi II (1775-1813), melik of Khachen.

152. Bakhtam II Avaniants, melik of Dizak (r. 1781-*ca.* 1799).

153. Melik Aram of the house of Avaniants, was melik of Dizak (1744-1747).

154. Fathers Gabriel and Daniel are not otherwise known but must have been trusted clergymen. It is likely that they were simple priests, whose travels would arouse no suspicions among the Persians; they are unlikely to

have been members of melik families.

155. This *Dashnagir* was a unilateral document of the Armenian meliks subject to Russian approval, a copy of which, if not the original, must have been available to our author, Archbishop Sergius.

156. Greeks. A probable reference to the Byzantine Empire.

157. Persians. This could refer to any or all of the Iranian dynasties under whom the Armenians had served: Achaemenids, Arsacids, Sasanians, Safavids, or the various successors of the last.

158. Vagharsapat, the earlier town of Vardgesawan, was capital of Armenia from the second to the fourth century after which the seat of the kings was removed to Duin. Also known as *Nor Kaghak* “New Town” (Gk. *Kainopolis*), it was later called *Echmiatsin* after the monastery of that name located on the site, a name that it bears to this date.

159. Ani, located in east central Armenia, was from 961 to 1045, the capital of the last Armenian kingdom in Greater Armenia.

160. St. Gregory, who converted Armenia to Christianity early in the fourth century, is known as *Surb Lusavorich* “The Holy Illuminator.”

161. The right hand of St. Gregory is kept in a silver reliquary in the shape of an arm and hand. Possession of this relic confirms legitimacy on the catholicos-patriarch.

162. The “first image cloth” is a reference to the *mandylion*, a supposedly miraculous imprint of the face of Christ upon a cloth made during his walk to Calvary. It is referred to in the Western Church as “Veronica’s Veil” (*cf.* Gk. *vera eikon* “true image”).

163. Abgar VII, king of Osrhoene (109-116 CE), was confused in the Syrian and Armenian tradition with the earlier Abgar V (4 BCE-50 CE) and thus made to reign in the time of Christ.

164. But to be worn by whom and as a symbol of what?

165. The one-headed eagle of the Arshakuni (Arsacid) dynasty refers to the emblem of the Arsacid kings of Greater Armenia (r. 63 CE-428), who were scions of the Arsacid dynasty of Parthia (r. 247 BCE-*ca.* 225 CE).

166. By “Lesser Armenia” the author here does not mean the Lesser Armenia (*Armenia Minor*) of the classical period, which existed along the west bank of the Euphrates River, but rather the medieval Armenian barony (1080-1198) then kingdom (1198-1375) in the Cilician mountains and plain at the northeast corner of the Mediterranean Sea.

167. The *nakharar*-s were the great princely houses of ancient and medieval Armenia; the titled princes as opposed to the *azat*-s or untitled gentry (although the two terms eventually merged and became interchangeable as the centuries wore on). The great princes of Armenia were called by themselves *ishkhan*-s “princes” or *metsametsn*-s “grandees.” The term *nakharar* originally designated the princes in relation to the king insofar as he excercised feudal power over them. Toumanoff (1963, p. 115) translates the term as “duke.”

168. This clause is an obvious claim by the meliks to be recognized as princes by the Russian Empire, a dignity never granted them by the tsars except for two individuals: Melik Avan II of Dizak and Valerian Grigorievch Madatov, a scion of the Shahnazareants house, meliks of Varanda, neither of whom left sons to carry on the title.

169. Anak Arshakuni was supposedly an Arsacid prince sent by the shah of Persia to slay Anak's kinsman, Chosrov II, king of Armenia (279/80-287). The deed was accomplished but the entire story (for which see Agathangelos, Thomson ed. and trans. §24-§36) may well be a legend designed to hide the true circumstances of the Armenian king's assassination and the identity of the real culprits. *Nak*, incidentally, means the "evil one" in Persian.

170. Text: *khalif* (Eng. *caliph*) This Arabic term means "successor" to Muhammad as the head of the *secular community* in the Islamic world. There could be no successor to Muhammad as the final prophet of God.

171. Catholicos Simon (Arm. *Simeon* I of Erevan, r. 1763-1780), a forward-thinking patriarch, reorganized the catholical library at Echmiatsin, put its archives in order, established a printing press there, and took the first survey of the holdings of the catholicosal see for which see his *Jambr* (1873; Eng. trans. 2009).

172. The monastery of Gandzasar "treasure mountain" (the mountain so-called from its mines of silver) was the mother see of the Aghuan Church, a catholicosal see within the fold of the Armenian Church and second in precedence only to the catholicosate of Echmiatsin (Hasratyan / Thierry, REA 15, 1981, pp. 289-316; DAA, 17; 1987).

173. This Archbishop Sergius is not the same as the author of our text but probably a member of the Hasan-Jalaliants family, who was at that time serving as abbot of Gandzasar.

174. A *tuman* was a Persian coin worth between eight and ten rubles, its value declining in the eighteenth century. It is almost impossible to translate these currencies into modern denominations.

175. From these dates it would appear that the first two prelates were Isaiah (catholicos of Aghuank, 1702-1728) and Nerses (anti-catholicos of Aghuank, 1706-1763), and that the third was the Catholicos Simon of Erevan (1763-1780).

176. These two apostates would have been the ancestors of the Muslim branch of the Eganians family that was still inhabiting the ancestral residence in the village of Togh at the end of the twentieth century, where this editor met them in 1999.

177. Catholicos Israel (1763-1765) is considered to have been an anti-catholicos of Aghuank (de Morgan, p. 413).

178. Erits Mankants Vank or Surb Erek Mankunk "The Monastery of the Three Children" was founded in 1661. It is located on the edge of a cliff overlooking a ravine in the district of Jraberd. It was founded by the anti-

catholico of Aghuank, Simon of Khotorashen, in 1664 (*HSH*, 3, p. 591). An anti-catholico of Aghuank would reside in this monastery, while the incumbant would hold Gandzasar.

179. Here the author leaps backward in time. This Gregory [Arm. *Grigor*] Hasan-Jalaliants, not to be confused with the anti-catholico Gregory III (1634-1653), was abbot of Gandzasar in the mid-seventeenth century and this passage refers to events that took place at the time when Gregory III died. This passage is difficult to follow and has been restored through consultation with the lists of the catholicoi of Echmiatsin and Aghuank in de morgan and the *HSH*.

180. Bishop Peter, as Peter III was catholico of Aghuank (1653-1675).

181. This Balthasar, brother of Gregory III and prince of Khachen, had four sons: Velijan, Jeremiah, Mulki and Aristakes. The first served as prince of Khachen (Velijan III, d. 1686), and was succeeded by Mulki (1686-1716), whose widow was killed by Panah-khan. The two (probably younger) brothers would have been Jeremiah and Aristakes, the first of whom became catholico of Aghuank (1675-1701), and the second, a bishop. The catholicosate of the Aghuan Church had been hereditary in the house of Hasan-Jalaliants since at least the fourteenth century so that the existence of an "heir apparent" was normal in the family. Apparently, it was taken for granted that a son designated to become (at least potentially) the head of the Hasan-Jalaliants family and thus prince of Khachen, would not be consecrated to the service of the church and so would be ineligible to become catholico. For this reason, our author sees no need to even mention Velijan or Mulki.

182. The text is broken here and continues on p. 26 of the ms. This continuation has been moved to its proper place at this point—KVK.

183. Since Catholicos Peter died in 1675, the "he" in this passage must have been the catholico of Echmiatsin, James IV of New Julfa (1665-1680), a most energetic prelate and one of the founders of the Armenian national revival that began in his time.

184. Khotorashen is located on the middle course of the Trtu / Terter (Azeri *Tartar*) River in the district of Haterk. Bishop Simon became anti-catholico in 1686 as opposed to the rightful successor, Jeremiah Hasan-Jalaliants.

185. The reference here to Catholicos James V of Shemakhi (1759-1763) must be a lapsus on the part of our author for James V reigned much too late to have been able to consecrate Jeremiah as catholico of Aghuank in 1676. The catholico of Echmiatsin in question must have been Eleazar (Arm. *Eghiaziar*) I of Aintab (1663-1691).

186. *Supra*, n. 178.

187. The author has now jumped forward to the eighteenth century. The addressing of Nerses as "eminence" indicates his episcopal rank although he is not specifically titled "bishop." Actually, Nerses V was anti-catholico

of Aghuank (a detail that our author chooses to ignore) in the years 1706-1763. Nerses was succeeded by John X Hasan-Jalaliants (1763-1786).

188. One hundred and twenty archbishops, bishops, and meliks, seems an unlikely high figure for the year 1686 and is startling coming from the author, who, as an archbishop of the Armenian Church, should have known better. There were never at any time that many archbishops and bishops in the Armenian Church and adding the meliks of the day would not have raised the number that high unless possibly every member of each melik family was included. The only explanation for the high figure is that Balthasar is counting every melik in Eastern Armenia, many of whom would have been mere village headmen as opposed to meliks who were princes and who were actually descended from the princely families of old. Still such an enormous conclave seems unlikely, however, for the appointment of an Aghuan catholicos.

189. The text gives the year erroneously as 1235 (1786), when 1215 (1766) must be intended, Catholicos Simon (*Simeon*) of Erevan reigning from 1763 to 1780.

190. St. Elisaeus (Arm. *Eghishe*; Eng. *Elisha*) was a disciple of St. Thaddeus, one of the Twelve Apostles (MD/MK I.6-7.) and is credited with bringing Christianity to Aghuank in the first century. This seems unlikely, however, and the story was probably concocted to support the apostolicity of the Aghuan Church and to justify its attempt at independence from the Church of Armenia.

191. St. Grigoris was the grandson of St. Gregory the Illuminator reputed to have been sent by his grandfather to guide the church in Aghuank at the request of the Aghuans themselves in the early fourth century (BP, III.6; MD/MK, I.9,14; MX III.3). St. Grigoris is credited by the Armenian tradition (BP III.5, vi; MD/MK I.9, 14) with having been the first bishop of Aghuank after its conversion by St. Gregory. Although there were doubtless some Christians in the country prior to that time, Christianity did not take firm root in Aghuank until the missionary efforts of St. Mesrob Mashtots in the early fifth (see *Koriun*, *passim*).

192. St. Vrtanes was the younger son of St. Gregory the Illuminator and father of St. Grigoris. He was the third patriarch of the Armenian Church (327-342), his older brother, Aristakes (who attended the council of Nicaea in 325), having been co-patriarch (320-328) with his father, St. Gregory, but who had predeceased him.

193. By "great Gregory the Parthian" is meant St. Gregory the Illuminator, who converted the Armenians to Christianity in the early fourth century, and who was traditionally a Parthian by birth and supposedly a member of the Arsacid royal house of Parthia (Agath. *passim*). This seems to be less likely as we study the circumstances of the conversion. He was probably a Cappadocian missionary.

194. The Armenian catholicos, is the chief bishop of the Armenian Church

but, can not accurately be described as a "pope" in the Roman Catholic sense. Here our author, Archbishop Sergius, having come under Roman Catholic influence, with which, in his era, he would have been familiar in Armenia, uses the term casually in the sense of the head of the Armenian Church. The catholicos at Echmiatsin is the patriarch and chief bishop of Armenia but he is never a "pope." He claims no universal authority over other churches, no right to define doctrine and no infallibility in any sense.

195. Here VA thinks that the reference to "all Armenians and Armenian sons populating Aghuank" was meant to include the entire historical Aran-Aghuank, beyond the left bank of the Kur River, with all of its inhabitants professing the Apostolic Gregorian creed of the Armenians.

196. Here the author explains the disappearance of the Aghuans by identifying them with the vaguely homonymous Afghans: "the entire race of the Aghuans went to Kabul and turned Muslim!"

197. In a margin on p. 26 of this ms. is found the following colophon unrelated to the rest of the text but obviously meant to be a part of it. Curiously, it begins and apparently ends in mid-sentence: "...to Your great delight, since I was absolutely willing to bring hither and keep, as my aid, the learned Bishop James of Shamakhi, who then was near Christ's seat in Echmiatsin. This was impossible then. However, now that he himself had risen and come to me, I was in very great joy and decided to keep him till his death, for, finally, he had fallen into my hands. But according to your order, through the hands of Bishop Gregory, whom you yourself requested, you called Bishop James to your person. Therefore, with great care I began to look after him, having chosen him and keeping him in his cell. It may be with kind and God-loving providence that I had seen this and chosen..."

198. On p. 27 and on the following p. 27a is found another unrelated passage meant to have been somewhere in the text: "...the great good of their coming to You, which I took and chose, because as the wise men say, of the good things one must choose and take the greatest, and from the evil things - the least, for the creators of the greatest good were two in number, of which one real choice would be the order of Your godly rule, for if you called me to Your person, I would without reservation come there as well, for I have a great desire to see Your sweet image. The other choice would be the help of the saints and the Virgin born to our Armenian Holy See, for which they have called you to serve. For this, I (being also moved by these two concerns) send my holy son, theologian and Bishop James, to Your Grace. I ask Your Benevolence whether whatever You wished [page 27a—extract continues] and desired, thought and considered to accomplish, I indeed accomplished with thoughtfulness, great care and choice, in order not to deprive Your fame, kind name and holy seat. And now, when our holy son Bishop James will always cherish Your sweet care and abundant love with his godly fear, I (an old failing man) [sending for this purpose] my beloved son Bishop James, ask you to consider him worthy of my request.

And as far as our country is concerned, we, the undeserved servants, the supporters of our able Meliks, wrote that the church should entrust its humblest Bishop James to Your most illuminated power. Stay wholesome in Christ, entirely for His glory, proud of His holy cross and firm for the church that believes in Him. Amen."

199. King Heracles; Geo. *Erakli*; Pers. *Erekli* khan; Russ. *Irakly*; Arm. *Erekke, Iraklii*; Eng. *Heracles or Hercules*, (from Greek *Herakles*). King Heracles II (1744-1762) was the last king of Georgia but one. He also used a Persian name: *Teymuraz*.

200. *Supra*, n. 199.

201. It is probable that only the subjects of these meliks went into exile from Artsakh—VA

202. This “heroic” Arzuman is given no title here but he is mentioned in the *Karabagh-nameh* of Mirza Adigozal Beg (Bournoutian, 2004 trans. pp. 167-168), where he is identified as a yüzbashi (commander of 100 [men]) but is not otherwise known. He is probably to be identified with the Colonel Arzuman at *infra* n. 241.

203. This “brave Melkon” is given no title and is not otherwise known.

204. The reference is to the population having been so reduced that there was hardly anyone left to use the bridge.

205. Igimirdord(?), a district in the melikdom of Giulistan —VA located it around the village of Diutakan / Katughkasar, *supra*, nn. 45, 131.

206. Once again, Arzuman is not identified nor is his father, Sergius. In any case, he was certainly an Armenian as can be seen from his father’s name.

207. The penalty for apostasy from Islam is traditionally death in Muslim countries.

208. The Armenians, like most of the peoples of Caucasia, governed themselves by ancestral, *i.e* traditional, laws known as *adat-s*. These were enforced by their meliks, who possessed juridical powers over them up to the imposition of the death penalty, which alone was solely the prerogative of the Persian shah.

209. Text: *Jand-Karim-khan*.

210. Text: Qajar-Mahmad-Hasan-khan. His son, Agha Muhammad khan (1742-1797) was the founder and first shah (1779-1797) of the Qajar dynasty that ruled Persia from 1781 until 1925. Although castrated at the age of six, he nevertheless became the chief of his tribe in 1758. Captured by a rival tribe and sent to Shiraz, Agha Muhammad was held hostage for sixteen years as a prisoner of Karim khan Zand, *de facto* shah of Iran (1760-1779) but escaped in 1779, the year of the death of Karim khan, an event that led to a great civil war in Iran based on a series of disputes within the Zand house over the succession. Under these circumstances, Agha Muhammad raised a rebellion that led him to the throne of Persia in 1779 and thence to the unification of Persia for the first time since the fall of the Safavid dynasty in 1722. In 1795 Agha Muhammad moved his seat from

Sari, the provincial capital of Mazandaran, to Tehran, where the Persian capital remains to this day. The same year, Agha Muhammad launched a campaign against Georgia resulting in the capture of Tiflis and its complete destruction. Notorious for his cruelty, Muhammad was assassinated by his servants in Shushi in 1797 three days after its capture.

211. The important city of Shiraz is located in southwestern Iran.

212. This event marks the beginning of the rise of Tehran to its present status, although it had previously served as capital from time to time.

213. Talysh (Arm. *Talish*), a small khanate on the southwest shore of the Caspian Sea north of the Persian province of Gilan. Centered at the small port of Lankuran. It is not to be confused with the melikdom of Talish, which was another name for the melikdom of Giulistan.

214. By Erevan, the author refers here to the entire khanate of that name not merely to its capital.

215. By *kert* is meant here the citadel of Shushi.

216. Borchalu is a district between the upper reaches of the River Khram and the Georgian lake country.

217. The village of Inja lay on the upper course of the Inja (anc. Arm. *Koghb*) River in the melikdom of Giulistan (Hewsen, 1992, p. 138 nn. 52, 54).

218. Khazakh or Kazakh is a town on the right bank of the River Aghstew (Russ. *Akstafa*), near its juncture with the Kur. It is perhaps the site of ancient *Hashu* or *Yashu-Khosh* (Gk. *Aspis*, read **Haspis*, Hewsen 1992, p. 145, n. 80), later an episcopal see of the medieval Aghuan Church.

219. Krtsanis, a village in Kartli close to Tiflis.

220. Soghanlukh (Russ. *Soganlug*), a village in Kartli to the southeast of Tiflis.

221. The Russian form *Tiflis* (Geo. *Tbilisi*) for the capital of the East Georgian kingdom of Kartli (the ancient *Iberia*; Arm. *Virk*) is based on the Armenian form, *Tpkhis* or *Tpghis*, as was the Arabic *Tiflis* and the Byzantine *Tephilis*.

222. Mt. Kharpukh, a peak near Tiflis.

223. Jerusalem fell to Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon in 587 B.C., to Antiochus III of Seleucid of Syria in 198 B.C., and to the Roman general, Titus, in 70 A.D. The author here displays his wide reading; none of these historical details is found in Classical Armenian sources.

224. Kakheti was the easternmost of the three Georgian kingdoms of Kartli, Imereti, and Kakheti, that existed from the late fifteenth to the mid-eighteenth century. In 1762, Kartli and Kakheti merged under the Kakhetian king, Heracles II (1744-1798).

225. Sololak, Geo. *Sololaki*, was a western district of the city of Tiflis extending in a southeast direction from the monastery of St. David, the Georgian pantheon.

226. Tiflis was well known for its baths fed by hot springs that supplied

them with ample waters. *Tbilisi*, the Georgian name for the city, is derived from the word *tbili* “warm.”

227. Pshav-s. A Georgian mountain tribe related to the Khevsur-s and the Tushin-s to the east of whom they dwelled. Luzbetak (1951), p. 4; Hewsen (1992), p. 129, n. 18; p. 132, n. 18 ff.

228. Text: “Arab” wolves but the Muslims in general are here intended.

229. The Parthians of the Arsacid dynasty, an Iranian people closely related to the Persians, were the masters of the Iranian Empire from 238 B.C. until their rule was overthrown ca. 224/6 A.D. after a duration of nearly half a millennium.

230. St. Nune (Geo. *Nino*; Rus. *Nina*) is the semi-legendary evangelist, who is said to have converted the king and queen of Georgia to Christianity in the 330s (S. Rapp, Jr., 2003).

231. Kandahar, an important city in Afghanistan.

232. The text has the toponym *Gerat* (= Herat), another important city in Afghanistan. *Gerat* is again a Russianism as Russian has no “h.”

233. Dushet (Geo. *Dusheti*) is a town to the northwest of Tiflis lying on the right bank of the Aragvi River before it enters the Kur at Mtskheta. Since the Armenians call the land of the Tushins, a Georgian mountain tribe, by the name *Dushetk* it is possible that this is what is meant here. Georgian rulers were known to take refuge with the mountain peoples during times of invasion.

234. Zubov. There were two Russian brothers by this name, Platon (1767-1822) and Major-General Valerian (1771-1804), the latter briefly active in Caucasian affairs. Valerian Zubov, who led the Russian expedition against Persia in 1796, is meant here. Beyond the capture of Derbent, little was gained from this expedition and Zubov returned to Russia in disgrace.

235. Kizlar is a town of Daghestan located in the delta of the Terek River. Here the Russians built an important fortress in 1735 as a prelude to their expansion towards the Caucasus range.

236. The text has *Derbend* from *Derbent*, the Russian form of the name from Persian *dar* “gate” (cf. Eng. “door”) + *band* “locked” (cf. Eng. “bound”). The town was originally built, probably in the sixth century CE, as a fortress to block the littoral pass that emerged between the Caucasus Mountains and the Caspian Sea as the sea receded due to the decline of its water level. It is famous for its sixth century wall extending some forty miles inland to prevent the fortress from being circumvented via the mountain passes (for which see Minorsky, 1958). For the fortress and its history, see Hewsen (1992, p 122 n. 105; for the khanate, *idem.* p. 118, n. 81 and *supra* the *Introduction*).

237. For the khanate of Quba see the *Introduction*.

238. In this period, Baku was a small walled port on the Caspian Sea that served as the center of a khanate formed from the arid lands that surrounded it. The city was briefly taken by the Russians under Peter the Great but did

not become a permanent tsarist acquisition until 1806. For the Baku khanate see the *Introduction*.

239. Shamakhi (Rus. *Shemakha*). See the *Introduction*.

240. Mustafa-khan, also named here as *Mdawa*, *Matapha*, and *Madaga*. Raffi (ed. 2006, p. 348) calls him *Mustafa*.

241. Mughank valley. This is unlikely to have been the ancient district of Mukhank in Artsakh / Karabagh but is more probably the plain of Mughan in Iranian Azerbaijan, where the coronation of Nadir khan as shah of Persia took place in 1736.

242. Haghpat. A major monastery in northern Armenia founded by Queen Khosrovanush (d. 981), consort to King Ashot III Bagratuni (951-977).

243. Colonel Arzuman is otherwise unknown. He is probably not the same Arzuman referred to at *supra*, n. 202.

244. Ibrahim, son of Panah khan, was married to a daughter of Omar-khan. *Supra*, n. 201.

245. Melik Jumshud, or Jamshid was the eldest son of Melik Shahnazir III of Varanda. An early supporter of the Russians, he became melik in 1805 and died at an unknown date prior to 1822, when he was succeeded by Melik Khudud, who was probably his son (Toumanoff, 1976, p. 249).

246. The *manat* was the equivalent of a silver ruble (Bournoutian, 2004, p. 272).

247. Here the author reverts back to the period of Agha-Mahmad shah's invasion of Karabagh.

248. Bolnis (Geo. *Bolnisi*) lies in the Gurjaani district of the Kvemo Kartli region of Georgia along the bank of the Mashavera River, a right hand tributary of the Khrami before it flows into the Kur. After the town was settled by German immigrants from Swabia in 1818, it was renamed *Ekaterinenfeld*, for Catherine the Great but, after the Sovietization of Georgia, it was renamed *Luksemburg* to honor the German communist leader Rosa Luxemburg. The German population was deported to Central Asia in World War II at which time the town regained its earlier name, *Bolnisi*. Here is located the oldest dated Georgian church (fifth century).

249. Akhaltsikhe (Geo. "New Castle") was a small district and town of southern Georgia (for which see Karapetyan, 2008) that belonged to the Ottoman Turks. It was ceded to Russia in 1829 along with the adjoining district and town of Akhalkalaki "New City".

250. Pavel Dmitrievich Tsitsianov (Geo. *Tsitsishvili*) was a Russianized Georgian prince, who served as a general in the Russian army invading South Caucasia. He succeeded General Karl F. Knorring as the chief of the Russian administration in South Caucasia and thus was the second to hold that post (1803-1806). The term "viceroyalty of the Caucasus" is frequently used to describe the Imperial Russian administration in Caucasia region although the Russian terms for the office *glavnoupravlyayushchhiy* (high commissioner) and *namestnik* (viceroy) varied over the period in which it

existed (1801-1917). These two terms are usually, but inexactly, translated into English as “viceroy,” which is frequently used interchangeably with that of “Governor General.”

The office was established after the Russian annexation of Georgia in 1801 with General Karl von Knorring as the first to hold the position under the title “Commander-in-Chief in Georgia and Governor General of Tiflis.” As the Russians acquired steadily more territory in the region, however, the authority of the “viceroy” was expanded to include the new acquisitions. The viceroyalty was centered in Tiflis and its powers consisted of those of military commander, supreme civil authority, and as a sort of ambassador to those countries adjacent to his jurisdiction. Normally, the viceroy answered only to the tsar and the position was a most distinguished one.

251. Holy and unholy animals [*I.e.* edible and non-edible animals—VA].

252. Such a credential is called *gramota* in Russian—VA

253. The Borchalu region is the district in southern Georgia located to the east of the Georgian lake district northwest of the Somkheti Mountains (Hewsen, 2001, Map 205, B2).

254. Char (properly **Jaro*) was a district adjoining that of Belokani (*infra* n. 266). At the time of the Russian expansion into South Caucasia, Belokani was the center of small Lesguian political formation, known as Jaro-Belokan, which offered serious resistance to the Russian advance until it surrendered to General Tsitsianov in 1803.

255. Belokan (Geo. *Belokani*; Azeri *Balakan*; Russ. *Bielokani*), a town and district now in the extreme northwest of Azerbaijan located in the foothills of the Caucasus range east of Tbilisi and Gremi. It was the center of the Lesguian formation of Jaro-Belokan (*supra*, n. 266).

256. Metskhet; Geo. *Mtskheta*. A town located at the juncture of the Aragvi River with the Kur, which was the capital of Georgia until the seat of the monarchy was transferred down river to Tbilisi (Russ. *Tiflis*) in the mid-fifth century CE. Thereafter the town and its great monastery of Svetiskhoveli “The Life-Giving Pillar” have remained the seat of the catholicosate of the Georgian Church. The “queen” referred to here is the Empress Catherine the Great (r. 1762-1796). There have never been kings or queens in Russian history.

257. Jatur (**Tsatur?*), apparently a village on the route between Tiflis and Gandzak.

258. Nerses of Ashtarak, catholicos at Echmiatsin (r. 1843-1857). The rose diamond cross worn on his miter by every Armenian catholicos since his time, was a gift to Nerses from Tsar Alexander I (1801-1825).

259. This remark concerning the subsequent catholicosate of Bishop Nerses, confirms that the text of our author, Archbishop Sergius (d. 1828), was edited, if only slightly, after Nerses became catholicos in 1843.

260. The Lepna (*Lubnas, Lopata*) River can only be the Lopnas River of medieval Armenian writers (*e.g.* MD/MK II.2, Dowsett trans. p. 67) and

supports the identification of the Lopnas with the Alazan as opposed to its frequent identification with the Aghstew (Russ. *Akstafa*) River asserted by many modern scholars (including this editor, *q.v.* Hewsen, 1992, p. 119 n. 87).

261. Text: *Tjar Kishakan* “the Kishian Char” is supposedly the Kish fortress on the southern peaks of the Great Caucasus—VA].

262. Prince Orbelian(i) was another Georgian prince who devoted himself to the Russian service, He was the first to capture the Georgian port of Poti (1809) and it was he who defeated Alexander, heir to the Georgian throne, at Sighnakh in Kakhet'i (1812). For Alexander, *infra*, n. 268.

263. Properly **Guliakov*. One of the bravest officers serving under Tsitsianov, in 1804, he was killed in battle against the forces of the tribes of Jaro-Belokani.

264. Baba-khan would be *Tabir-khan, a Persian prince and military commander.

265. Crown Prince Abbas Mirza was the son of Fath Ali-Shah and fought long and valiantly against the Russians in the hope of recovering the territories lost from his expected inheritance.

266. Kanaker was a large village to the northeast of Erevan that has now been engulfed by the growth of the modern city. The *tanuter-s* (village headmen) of Kanaker were descended from the Abovian meliks of the house of Beglarian and were related to the Aghamalian meliks of Erevan. (Hewsen, 1980, pp. 459-468).

267. VA thinks that Davali is *Dvin*, one-time medieval capital of Armenia, *Davali* being the supposedly corrupted version of *Davil* from the Arabic name for the historic Dvin. Davali could, however, refer to the village of Davalu on the lefy bank of the Arax River in the same general area. The Plain of Sharur (Arm. *Sharur Dasht*) lies along the left bank of the Arax River between Nakhichevan and Vayots Dzor (Hewsen 1992, p. 211, n.13; *idem*. 2001, map 55.

268. Crown Prince Alexander (1771-1844) was the eldest surviving son of George XII (1798-1801), last king of Georgia. After the Russian annexation, he was recognizd as the heir to the Georgian throne not only by the Georgian nobility but also by the Ottoman and Persian governments. Through the good offices of Catholicos Ephraim (1809-1831), a marriage was arranged between Alexander and Maria (*Mariam*) Aghamaliants (1808-1882), daughter of Melik Isaac (*Sahak*) the last Armenian prince of Erevan (d. 1834). After her death “Queen Mariam,” as she was known to royalists in Georgia, was interred in the nave of the cathedral of Svetiskhoveli at Mtskheta, with other members of the Georgian royal family but during its recent restoration, her tombstone was left hidden beneath the new flagstones (R.H.H., personal observation, 2011).

269. Major Kondratov, a Russian officer otherwise not cited.

270. Pambak = ‘cotton.’ The district along the eastern side of the Pambak

Mts.

271. The Saral River is not cited in the list of Armenian Rivers in the *HHShtB*, vol. 5. It apparently ran through or near the Pambak district.
272. Text: *Davrezh*, the Armenian word for the city of Tabriz—VA
273. Perhaps the author means a Shiite Muslim—VA
274. Mt. Gharaghash, perhaps a peak in the Aghdam district of Azerbaijan (*HHShtB*. p. 533, s.v. Gharaghashli village) although this is not very near Lori or Gharakilise.
275. Gharakilise; Tk. *Karakilise* “Black Church;” Soviet: *Kirovakan* (now *Vanadzor*), after Erevan and Gyumri, the third largest of the four cities of the present Armenian Republic.
276. These “Persians” could also be the Shiite Tartars, the modern Azeris—VA
277. Lieutenant General Grigori Ivanovich Lisiakov (1756-1832) played a major role in Russia’s Napoleonic War.
278. By “field” the author means here the Artsakh valley—VA
279. The Sea of Pontos was the Black Sea (Arm. *Pontosi Tsov* or *Sev Tsov*).
280. The fortress of Fit lay in the district of Shaki in the vicinity of Nukhi. Located on a peak called *Fit-Dagh*, from which the fortress took its name, it was a small but strong place to which the khans of Shaki were accustomed to take refuge from their enemies in time of war (*The Penny Cyclopaedia*, p. 176).
281. Most fortresses developed surrounding communities that arose in the safety of their protection but no city of Fit is known to the *HHShtB*.
282. Here the author may again mean the Shiite Turkic speakers, who due to their faith are called Persians—VA
283. Here it is possible that the author means ‘abyss’ as a literary metaphor—VA
284. Here the author means the note of the Baku Armenian about the conspiracy to kill Tsitsianov—VA
285. VA thinks again that here the author means the prominent Turkic Shiite figures of Baku.
286. Text: *haji*, a Muslim who had made the recommended pilgrimage to Mecca—KVK.
287. Angus in front of Absalom. I have been unable to trace this reference—RHH
288. Count Ivan Gudovich succeeded Gregory Potemkin as Catherine’s supreme commander in North Caucasia in 1790. He was relieved of his command, however, in 1795 just as a war with Persia became inevitable and was replaced by the youthful Valerian Zubov, brother of Catherine’s favorite, Platon Zubov.
289. General Bulgakov was placed in command of the operations against Derbent and Quba by General Gudovich, who, in 1806 was reinstated as commander-in-chief in Caucasia. Both khanates surrendered without resis-

tance, however, and Bulgakov obtained no glory from the campaign.

290. Gumri, now *Gyumri* (Cl. Arm. *Kumayri*; Tk. *Gümri*), a village in the past, was rebuilt after the migration of the Armenians from Ottoman Turkey, became a city, and in 1840 its name was changed to Alexandropol (Russ. *Aleksandropol'*) in honor of the consort of Tsar Nicholas I (1825-1855).

291. General Nesvetaev (*sic*), i.e. General **Nisuitov*.

292. Erzurum (Arm. *Karin* or *Teudupawlis*) has been the largest city of western Armenia since its foundation by the Romans as the fortress of Theodosiopolis in the late fourth-early fifth century. Under the Turks, it was the major military base against a Russian invasion after the loss of Kars in 1878.

293. The Akhurian River (the ancient *Harpasos*) is a right-hand tributary of the Arax flowing down from the north. It is the present-day Arpa-*chai* (Tk. *chai* = 'stream') whose course forms part of the boundary between Turkey and the modern Armenian Republic.

294. Tormosovich, properly Aleksandr Petrovich *Tormosov* (as it is spelled *infra*), was the fourth viceroy of the Caucasus (1809-1811).

295. Mahmad Ali Mirza was a Persian general who invaded Georgia in 1811.

296. For Hussein, the last Persian khan of Erevan, see G. Bournoutian (1982, *passim*; 1992, *passim*).

297. Crown Prince Alexander of Georgia (1771-1844) was the heir to the Georgian throne after the death of the last king, George XII in 1801 and the Russian annexation of the country (*supra* n. 268).

298. The Tai region is possibly the old Armenian land of Tayk (Geo. *Tao*) some of which belonged to Georgia in this period.

299. Markizov (also known as Marquis *Pavlovich* to the author—VA), would be Filippo Osipovich Paolucci, who, born in Modena, Italy, would be in the Russian service for twenty years (1809-1829).

300. Jafar-Ghuli-khan. Jafar was not actually a khan; his title, ghuli (qoli) khan, was an honorific and indicates that he was the slave of (i.e. loyal to) the actual khan, in this case, his brother Mahdi.

301. Mahdi-Ghuli-khan succeeded his father Ibrahim as khan of Karabagh (1806-1822).

302. Text: *Archishov*, written thusly probably because the Armenians, as they sometimes do, inserted a faint vowel or *schwa* at the front of the name, which was not actually written in that position. Nikolai Fedorovich Rtishchev was the sixth Russian administrator of the Caucasus (1812-1816).

303. Mirza Abdul Hasan was apparently the chief negotiator of the Persian delegation.

304. General Alexei Petrovich Ermolov was the seventh Russian chief administrator of the Caucasus (1816-1827).

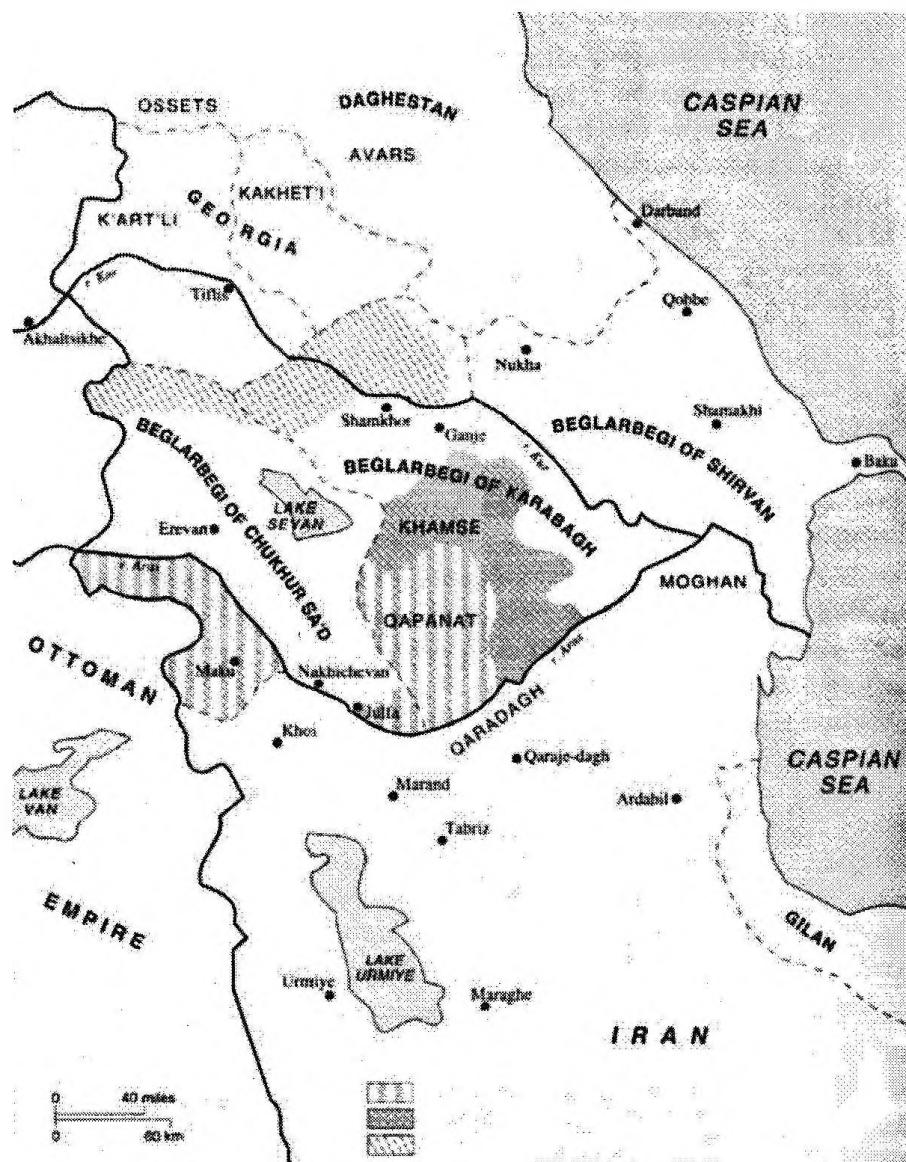
305. The author is mistaken, this should be Mount Ararat—VA

306. Shirak was a land (*ashkharh*) and a former principality in central Armenia lying between the River Akhurian and Mt. Aragats (Hewsen, 1992, pp. 214-215, n. 277).

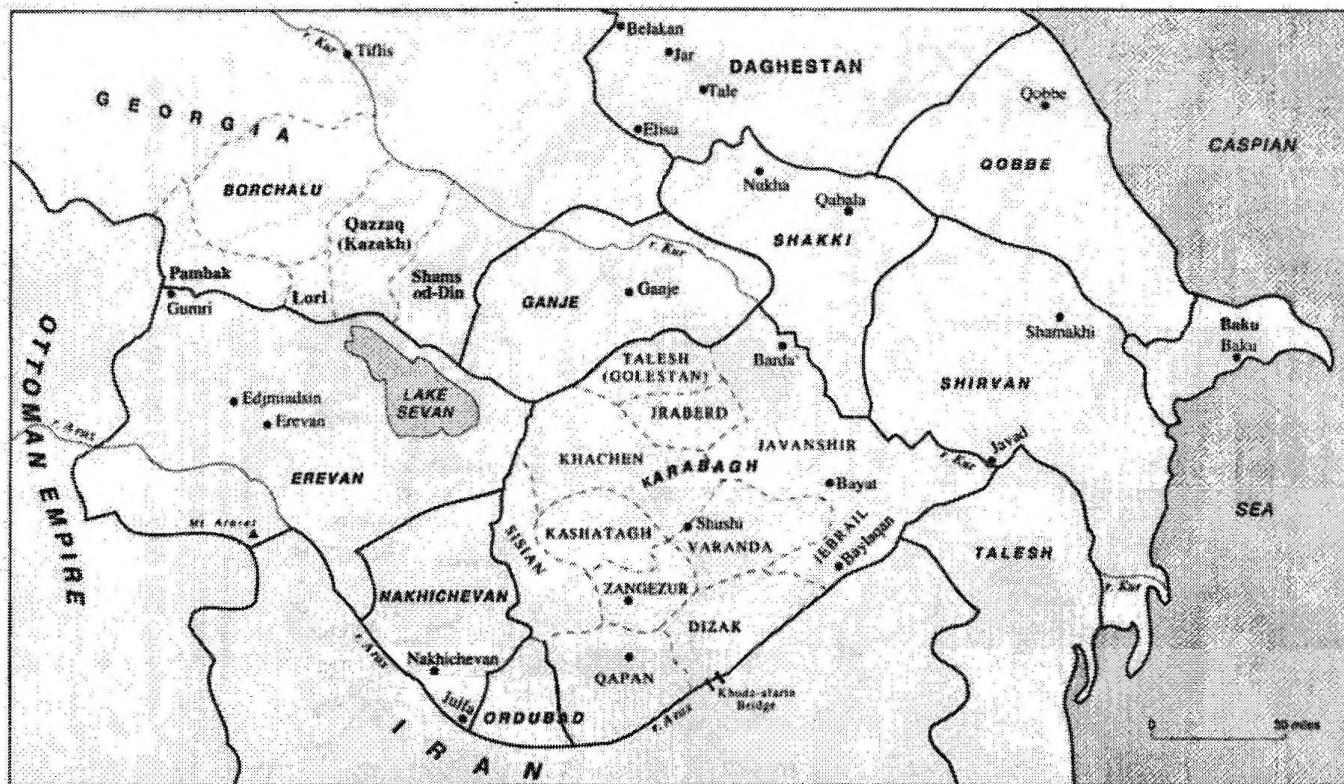
307. It is not clear from whom and to whom this undated letter is addressed. However, from its tone it would appear to have been written by a high Armenian prelate (the catholicos at Echmiatsin?) to another high prelate. In this brief fragment, the catholicos appears to have wished to keep Bishop James of Shemakhi, visiting at Echmiatsin, as an aid but upon learning that the bishop's presence was sought (by the Aghuan catholicos?), agreed to allow him to depart.

308. This fragment of a letter, by its tone appears to have been written by one high Armenian prelate (the former catholicos of Aghuank, Archbishop Sergius of Karabagh?) to one of higher rank (the catholicos at Echmiatsin?). In it, the first prelate—an old man at the time—sends his subordinate, Bishop James [of Shemakha], to serve the second. Undated as they are, this and the previous fragment (supra n. 307) can not be precisely dated nor securely attached to any particular ecclesiastics.

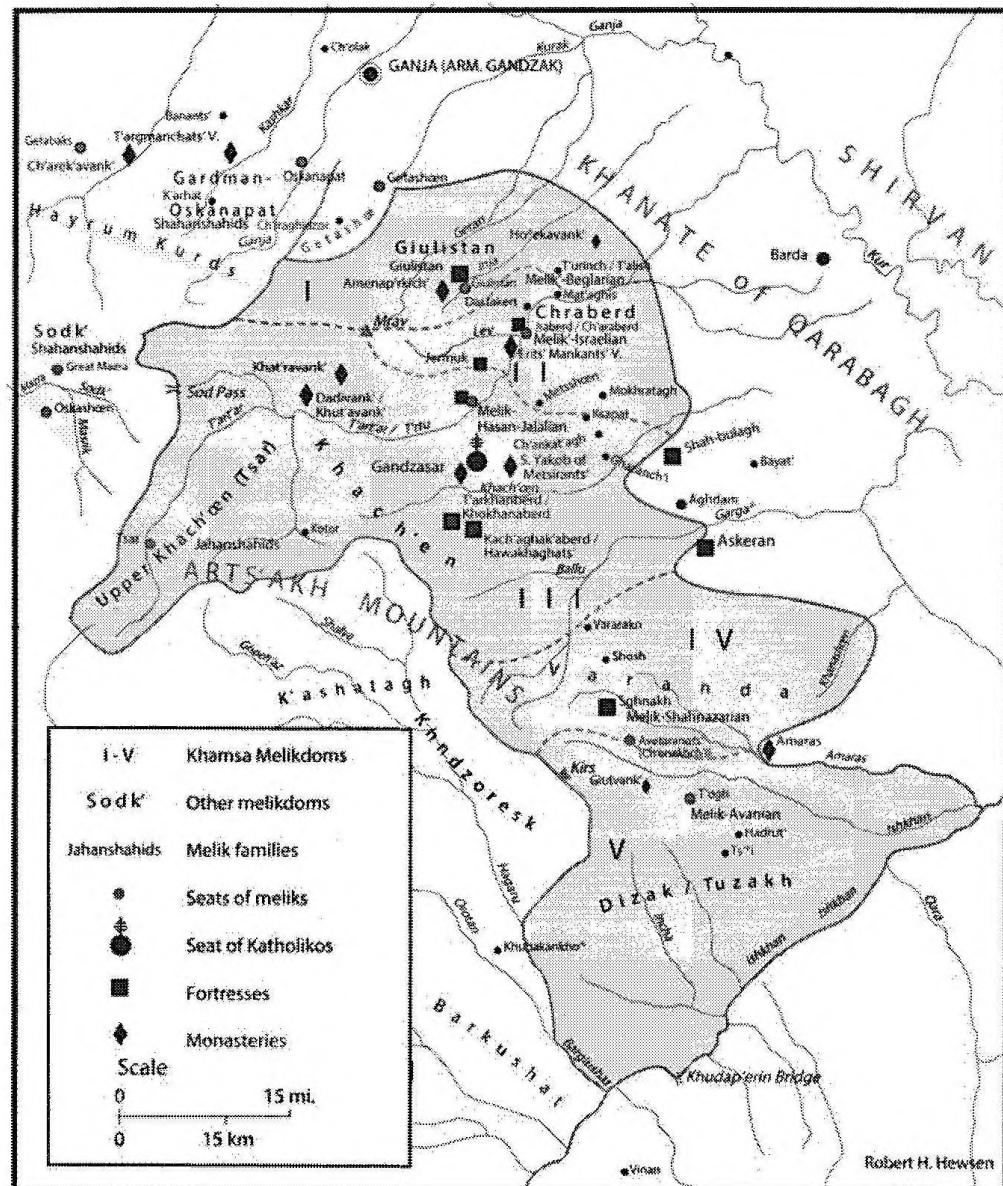
Maps and Illustrations



Map 1. South Caucasia in the Eighteenth Century.
(Courtesy of George A. Bournoutian)



Map 2. Karabagh and Gjenje and the Neighboring khanates in the Eighteenth Century.
 (Courtesy of George A. Bournoutian)

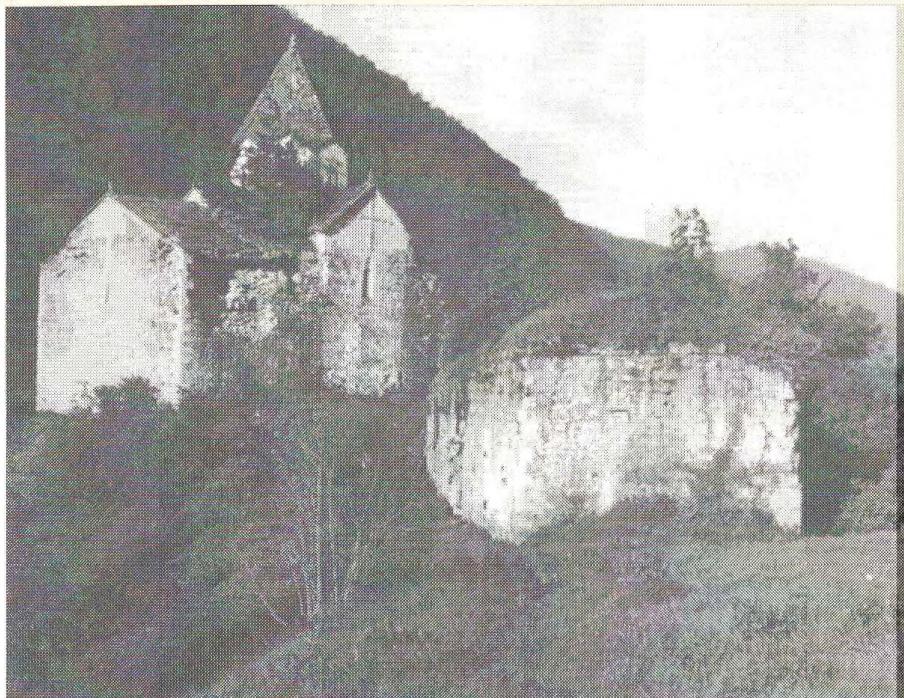


3. The Five Melikdoms of Karabagh in the Eighteenth Century.

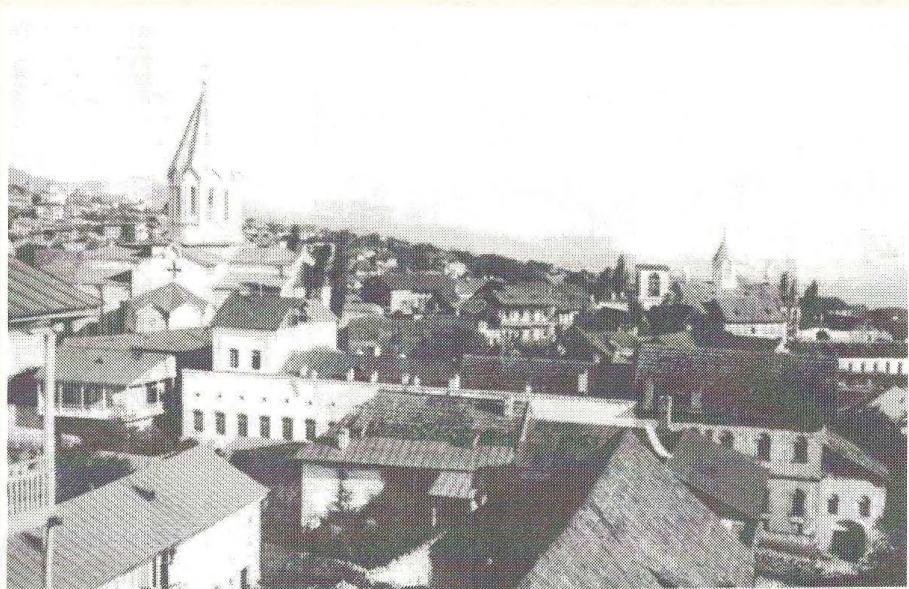
(R.H. Hewsen, after B. Harutyunyan)



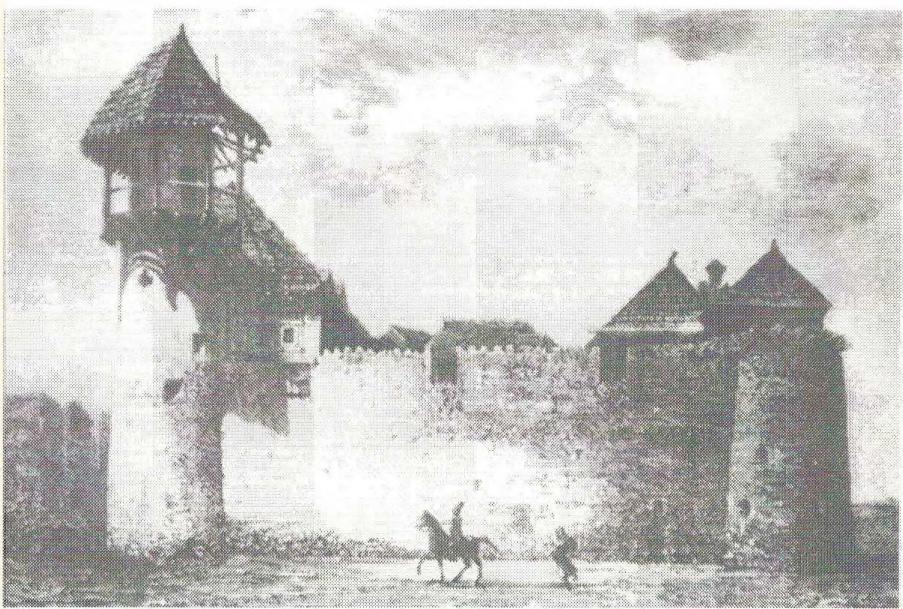
1. The Monastery of Gandzasar (1226-1238)



2. The Monastery of Erits-Mankank "The Three Children" (1691)



3. The City of Shushi (ca. 1900)



4. The Fortress of Shushi (ca. 1900).



5. The Monastery of Gtish (1241-1248)



6. The Monastery of Amaras (1667-1676, rebult 1858)

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: LETTER OF THE MELIKS TO POPE INNOCENT XI, 19 April 1699. (Translation, Robert H. Hewsen)

This letter was found in the Vatican archives by the early nineteenth century Armenianist M. J. Saint-Martin when they, along with a number of other letters from the East, were temporarily held in Paris by the French Secretary of State. Saint-Martin describes the letter (whose Armenian original he did not publish) as being written in the dialect of Siunik' in a poor style. Addressed to Pope Innocent XII (1691-1700), it did not reach the Vatican until the reign of Clement XI (1700-1721). Having never been published in a Western language since the French translation of Saint-Martin in 1818, and thus being highly difficult to access, it has been thought useful to reprint it here in English, albeit—*faute de mieux*—from the French.

TEXT

To the vicar of Jesus Christ, the Holy Pontiff, great and worthy heir of the see of St. Peter and St. Paul, Sovereign Chief of the Orthodox Faith, as well as to the Roman ecclesiastics and religious.

We the princes and meliks of Greater Armenia, unworthy sinners, we cast ourselves ardently at the feet of Your Holiness, and we kiss Your right hand in shedding tears and groaning like the prodigal son. Holy Father, we have sinned against heaven and against you, Holy Pontiff of Christ. Just as all the words that come from your mouth are pleasing before God the Creator, All-Powerful Father, so we accept Your commands. Just as the words of the twenty-four chosen prophets crying at the time of the origin of the Divine Word, in the same way your words are pleasing to us. As the preaching of the Twelve Apostles were necessary to Christ Incarnate, in the same way the counsels of Your Holiness are necessary to us. As the Son and the image of the Invisible God take a visible form with human nature, in order to seek the sheep which is perishing, and having found it by its love, fill with joy the celestial host, likewise Holy Father, by Your indescribable wisdom and by Your Clemency filled with sweetness, bring your consolation to us, faithful servants of Christ, who languish in Persia under barbarous and ambitious prelates and

under the yoke of the infidels.

By this letter we make known to Your Holiness all the vexations that we have suffered from our clergy. The patriarchs James¹ and Eliazar,² after being greatly tormented and after having given many presents to the infidels, agreed in the end; and we have paid for the debt of the Patriarch James, 2000 purses, and, for that of Eliazar, the clergy have given more than 2000 additional purses. We then gathered at Holy Echmiatsin³ and we decided with the Patriarch James, that he would go in person to Your Holiness so as to reunite with the orthodox faith of the Romans, to submit to your see of St. Peter and St. Paul, and to let you know our wishes. We have chosen to accompany him Lord Israel, descended from the family of Prosh,⁴ famed among the Armenians; but then, because of the infidels and for other valid reasons, he was not able to set out, we have chosen in his place his son Israel *Ori*,⁵ whom we accepted, so that he might go with the Patriarch James to your Holiness. When they arrived in Constantinople and the infidels prevented them from going further, the patriarch, overwhelmed with pain and anger, because he could not accomplish the projects that he held in his heart, he, because of our sins, left us and rejoined God and our undertaking expired. The bishops and the princes returned with the exception of Lord Israel Ori, descendant of Prince Prosh, who went on to France where he remained for so long that we thought that he was dead.

After that, we princes gathered once more at Echmiatsin, by the Great Patriarch [the Catholicos Eliazar], and we decided that he would go to Your Holiness, to submit himself to the See of St. Peter and St. Paul and to let you known our wishes. When he arrived at Theodosiopolis⁶ [Erzurum], it was impossible for him to move further because of the infidels; he therefore returned and died soon after. After him we consecrated as patriarch, Lord Nahapet,⁷ who held the see for six years without our making known to him our secret desires, because he was not united in love and agreement with us. Then, the *Vardapet* Stephen of Jugha,⁸ by giving presents to the infidels, received an order to come and take the see at Echmiatsin [1697]; but afterwards the patriarch Nahapet regained the patriarchate, by giving greater gifts to the point of selling the holy vessels to give their value to the infidels with the result that Stephen was cast into prison, where he died. In the other see of Gandzasar,⁹ there were similar dissensions. We who have seen all these things, and who otherwise, to prevent the weakening of the faith and the loss of

churches, chose according to the laws, the most worthy to fill the see, that had been seized by force of money. Miserable, without help, we were in sorrow but today we give thanks to God, because Lord Israel [Ori] has returned to us from the land of the Christians after nineteen years of absence. He has revealed our secret wishes to His Highness,¹⁰ the elector palatine, and to the great [Holy Roman] emperor and king;¹¹ he came with letters from His Highness, and he was anonymous at Echmiatsin, the better to judge the morals of the clergy without being known. At last he came to us and told us everything. We princes, having gathered together, went to Gandzasar, and Lord Israel told us then not to manifest our intentions to our clergy before having spoken with them. We thus sat with the Patriarch Phillip¹² and the bishops who are attached to him, and we discussed the Orthodox Faith, the see of St. Peter and St. Paul, and about reunion with Rome, which caused great tumult among us, especially when we saw that the words of Lord Israel were true and that they were based on the Scriptures of the Holy Gospel, and that we saw, on the contrary, that the patriarch and the bishops [who were] his partisans were far from the truth. We have thus recognized this and all of us [have now] obeyed the orthodox faith of Rome, of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of the Sovereign Pontiff, Vicar of Christ, as well as the Holy, Universal, Orthodox and Roman Church.

However, the Patriarch Phillip replied, "We too obey St. Peter and St. Paul." Then Lord Israel replied "If you submit to the Holy Church and to the see of St. Peter and St. Paul, as did St. Gregory the Illuminator, you will receive holy orders [only] if you are worthy, and you would not receive them by giving gifts to the infidels, and you would not fool the people with errors." Seeing that disorder increased, we departed from Lord Israel, and returned to our homes without having obtained anything either from the patriarch or the priests. We feared again the bishops, because we had not revealed our projects to them, and that we have said to them that through force of money, they seized their sees one from another. We left after all this, and we withdrew to our homes; then, by order of Lord Israel, we opened the letters addressed to the patriarchs by His Highness, the elector, we read them with great joy and satisfaction as can be proven by the witness of Lord Israel. We saw there that God can deliver us, dispersed Christians, not only through the help of Your Holiness, but also by that of the great Christian kings.

Again, we let Your Holiness know that Lord Israel, nobleman of

our Armenia, and who has suffered so many vexations and opprobrium until now, has been judged, for this reason, worthy of being our chief: everything that he may do will suit us. By the blessed Grace of Christ, we have chosen for our confessor the *Vardapet* Minas, abbot of the monastery of St. James,¹³ whom we taught the truth once we knew his rectitude, and we have revealed to him our intentions. He was plunged into affliction because the infidels had destroyed his church, having taken the sacred vessels, and having reduced him to the deepest misery. We say again that, agreeing perfectly at heart with us, we have given him our letter, and we are again in agreement with Lord Israel, who has brought a letter from Nerses, chaplain of the emperor and king, who, after our information, has been taught our true intentions. We have chosen them to go to Your Holiness, with the intention that they make known to you our own wishes, and that they may cast themselves at your feet imploring your mercy and shedding tears for us misguided Christians. Holy Father, we wish, we desire Your Holiness that your clemency be touched, that your feelings moved to free us from this pharaonic captivity. Sovereign Pontiff of the great Christian kings and princes, have pity on us and deliver this people from the hands of the oppressors. Holy Father, we have hope in God and in Your Holiness, that a prince of the illustrious family of the elector palatine come to us; and by the mercy of God as well as by the help of Your Holiness, that the union with the Orthodox Faith will be established between us. After our deliverance, if our patriarchs wish, with obedience and humility, to submit themselves to Your Holiness, that would seem to us good and agreeable; but if they do not wish so, we will not accept [this response from them] and we, in receiving them [the documents of union?] anew from Your Holiness, will place them at Echmiatsin.¹⁴ We know that our clergy do not know our plan, and that they will not put us to the sword. It would be important that we go to Your Holiness, that we cast ourselves at your feet while shedding tears, and that we kiss His hand; but this is impossible for us because of the fear that we have for the infidels. Placing our trust in God, we have sent our letters in the hands of our *Vardapet* Minas¹⁵ and Lord Israel, who is unknown. We ask again that Your Holiness ordain as bishop, Lord Nerses, that You send him to us so that he can govern us by Your authority. All our hope is in this journey. We pray to God and to you with ardor that our wish be fulfilled by the worthy prayers of Your Holiness.

We, unworthy servants of Your Holiness, apply our seals and have signed this letter with our own hands:¹⁶

Philip [Pilipos], son of Hegoz

Safraz, son of Melkon

Thaddeus [Tateos], son of Balthasar [Baghtasar]

Emir-Bek, son of Martiros

Aghajan, son of Eavr

Sarukhan, son of Asadur

Shahnazar, son of Naribek

Melkon, son of Baghtasar

Sukias, son of Shahin

John [Ohanes], son of Noah [Nave]

Written at Angeghakot,¹⁷ the 19th of the month of April 1699.

NOTES

1. James of Julfa (*Yakob Jughayetsi*), Catholicos-Patriarch of Armenia (1655-1680).
2. The patriarch Eliazar (of Antab), was anti-catholicos-patriarch of Armenia (1663-1682) and then legitimate catholicos-patriarch (1682-1691).
3. The monastery of Echmiatsin was then, as now, the mother see of the Armenian Apostolic Church.
4. Prince Prosh-Hasan (1224/5-1284), was a member of the house of Haghbat or Khaghbak, which originated in North Khachen and was thus almost certainly a branch of the Hasan-Jalalian princes of Khachen. A contemporary of the great Hasan-Jalal-Dola, he was an illustrious warrior, remembered in this letter more than four hundred years after his death (Toum., 1976, p. 303).
5. The word *ori* is a title of dignity not a personal name, *c.f. oriord*, the term used in Agath. (800; Thom. ed. p. 338) for the sister of King Tiridates the Great: *oriord mets*, a Classical Armenian term for "princess."
6. Theodosiopolis was the Byzantine foundation on the site of modern Erzurum, whose name, dating from the late fourth or early fifth century, was, as we see here, still in use among the Armenians at the turn of the eighteenth century.
7. The Patriarch Nahapet (of Edessa/Urfâ), catholicos-patriarch of Armenia (1691-1705).
8. Stephen of Julfa was an interloper who was never recognized as a legitimate Catholicos-Patriarch of Armenia.
9. The monastery of Gandzasar was the seat of the catholicos of Aghuank (Caucasian Albania), the holder of a see that was second only to that of the

Catholico-Patriarch at Echmiatsin, the head of the Armenian Church. Subordinate to the latter, the Catholico of Aghuank was often his rival. His see, limited to the region of Artsakh in the thirteenth century, came to include the whole of southeastern Caucasia, the present Republic of Azerbaijan.

10. The text has *Eranaltes* (i.e. *ihren altes* “your Majesty”) which Saint Martin, obviously unfamiliar with German, was unable to translate. The elector (one of the princes with the right to elect the Holy Roman Emperor) was Johann-Wilhelm, elector of the Palatinate, a German state centered at Düsseldorf.

11. The great emperor and king referred to here are the same individual the Holy Roman Emperor, Leopold I (1658-1705), who was simultaneously the emperor of Austria.

12. There was no Patriarch (Catholico) Philip of Aghuank at this time. The context, however, suggests that he was a would-be prelate aspiring to the catholicosate.

13. The monastery of St. James at Gandzasar, *supra*, n. 9.

14. This passage is not fully clear and there seems to be something missing in the French translation which reads: “Après notre délivrance, si nos patriarches veulent, avec obéissance et humilité, se soumettre à votre sainteté, cela nous paroitra bon et agréable; mais s'ils ne le veulent pas, nous ne les accepterons point et nous en recevrons de nouveaux de votre sainteté, et nous les placerons à Edchmiadzin.”

15. Minas *vardapet* Tigraniants (*ca.* 1658-1740) was the abbot of the monastery of St. James of Metsiran[k] in Khachen. He played an important role in the future activities of Israel Ori, accompanying him to Western Europe and Russia and becoming the first archbishop and primate of the Armenian Church in the Russian empire with his see set at Astrakhan near the mouth of the Volga River.

16. These ten signatures are puzzling in that no surnames of the princes are given so that it is almost impossible to determine to which houses they belonged. This absence of any familial indications, save the patronymics of the individuals listed, suggests a curious lack of concern for social standing and precedence on the part of the signatories. Safraz son of Melkon is certainly of the Melik Tangian house of Angeghakot, the village where the conclave of 1699 took place, but why is he listed second? Was the first signatory, Philip son of Hekoz, an older relative? Safraz, son of Melkon, having been the second signatory to the letter can hardly have been the son of the Melkon who was the son of Balthasar, who signed further below. Shahnnazar, son of Naribek, is almost certainly of the house of Shahnazarian but there is no Naribek in their genealogy for this period when Husein I (1682-1736) was head of the house (Toum. 1976, p. 248). Balthasar was a name common among the Hasan-Jalalians, which is suggestive but proves nothing, while Mulki was head of the Hasan-Jalalian house in

1699 (Toum. 1976, p. 244). Thaddeus and Melkon, both sons of Balthasar, were possibly brothers. Interestingly, most of the names cited are of non-Christian and non-Armenian origin although the individuals may have had Christian baptismal names that they did not use in public.

17. Angeghakot is a large village of central Siunik. It was the seat of the Meliks Tangian whose importance is attested by the fact that the conclave of 1699 took place at their seat. The absence of any meliks of Khachen, Varanda, Giulistan, Jraberd or Dizak suggests that the mission of Ori to the Pope was sponsored by lesser meliks or by those who thought that caution required that they send lesser scions of their houses as members of the mission.

APPENDIX II: LETTER OF JAVAD, KHAN OF GANJA, TO THE RUSSIAN GENERAL PAUL TSITSIANOV (1218 AH/1803 CE)

This letter, a rare document of Russian relations with the South Caucasian khans, is preserved in the Iranian Foreign Office and has been issued by the Bureau for Publication of Documents under the title "Some documents of relations between Caucasia and Iran," p. 161. It is written in Persian in a fine hand, a sample of which can be found on Wikipedia, s.v. "Javad khan." The author of the letter, Javad khan Ziyad Oghlu Qajar, was ruler of the khanate of Ganja at the time of the Russian invasion. He and his sons were killed during the Russian siege of Ganja in 1804.

TEXT

"At this time, the letter that you sent has been received. And you wrote: 'In the days of yore, the land of Dede-h-faal of Ganja was subordinate to Georgia.' No one [here] has ever heard such words. But know that our ancestors like Abbas qoli khan and others were rulers of Georgia and if you do not believe this, then question the old people of Georgia with regard to this Abbas qoli khan and ask them if he was the ruler or not. [As proof of this] currently his mosque and market place are in Georgia. And the royal clothes bestowed upon his servants as well as his letters / documents are with the people of Georgia. From the days of Erekli khan's father and our father, the borders between Ganja and Georgia were clearly defined. And we do not need to mention these facts, because if we say that our ancestors were the sovereigns of Georgia, no one on your side will believe it and they will not bestow Georgia upon us.

You also wrote, that six years ago, I gave away the fort of Ganja to the ruler of Russia. This is true. At that time, your ruler wrote letters to all the provinces of Iran and also to us and we accepted the letter and gave the fort. Whenever the king [the tsar of Russia] wrote us a decree with regard to Ganja, then make that decree clear so that we may observe that decree and apply it. And you wrote to us 'We were a client of' Georgia then know that right now the letter of your king [the tsar] is in our hands and in that letter, you can see that our title was *Beglarbegi* of Ganja and [we were] not a client of Georgia

and thus your words are in contradiction with your [own] decree. And the other thing that when we get under the rule of the Russian king, the Persian king was in Khorasan and we could not reach him, and due to that [fact] the king of Russia is also great, we accepted his obedience, but now, thanks to God, the Persian king is near and his servant general has come to us and also his army, and more of them will come [to help us].

You also wrote that ‘Georgia belongs to the king [tsar of Russia] and you [*i.e.* Javad khan] obtain fees from the merchants.’ This is correct, but the first day that you entered Georgia, we wrote to you and sent men and made it clear that the *nasib* [the Georgian king?] is our servant and he has became rebellious and he had seized the belongings of the merchants under our command and we thought that [if] you were the servant of the king [tsar] and you would do justice to the court and take back the belongings of our merchants and hand us the *nasib* and other *Shamss al-dinlu*-s who have became rebellious to us, but you did nothing. And you can see yourself – and don’t rely on the saying of the others – that the goods that we took, were from the Shamkori servants, who are from Ganja and not from the Georgians.

And whenever you seek a battle, know that we are ready for battle and if you boast about your cannon and guns, thanks to the mercy of God, our cannon and guns are no less than yours. And if your cannons are one *gaz* know that our canons are three to four *gaz* and victory is [only] due to God. And how do you know if you are braver than the Qizilbash [Iranian army], you have seen yourself fighting but have not seen the fighting of the Qizilbash. And you have written to us to be ready for battle. From the time that you came to the *Shamss al-Dinlu* and brought our people under your command, we have been preparing and we are ready for the day of battle if you wish to fight. And when you wrote: ‘If you do not accept our words in this letter then misfortune will strike,’ we know such thoughts have brought you here. Fate has brought you from Saint Petersburg to that misfortune here. With the will of God, the Highest, may your misfortune become apparent.”

APPENDIX III: CATHOLICOI OF THE AGHUAN CHURCH

(Adapted from the lists in the *HSH*, pp. 262-263; and from MD / MK, the Albanian Chronicle of Mekhitar Gosh, from Ormanian (1910) and Toumanoff (1976).

Chief Bishops

St. Elisaeus?, supposedly in the first century CE

[Then, setting at Chogha by the Caspian Sea:]¹

St. Grigoris (-314-) ²

Matthew I

Isaac I

Moses I

Karen?

Pand

Lazarus

Zacharias I

David I (?-399)

John I (also sent as bishop of the Huns)

Jeremiah I [contemporary of St. Mesrob Mashtots, ca. 425]

St. Shupshaghisho [from Jerusalem].

Catholicoi³

[The catholicosal seat was moved by Abas from Chogha to Partav, where he was consecrated in 551]

Abas (551-595)

Viro (595-629)

Zacharias II (629-644)

John II (644-671)

Ukhtanes ((671-683)

Elazar (683-689)

Nerses I (689-706), [of Chalcedonian persuasion; removed]

Simon I (706-707)

Michael (707-744)

Anastasius (744-748)

Joseph I (748-765)

David II (765-769)

- David III (769-78)
Matthew II (778-779)
Moses II (779-781)
Aaron (781-784)
Solomon I (784)
Theodore? (784-788)
Solomon II (788-799)
John III (799-824)
[who moved the catholical seat to Berdakur castle in Artsakh on the
Trtu (Terter) River]
Moses III (824)
David IV (824-852)
Joseph II (852-877)
Samuel (877-894)
John IV (894-902)
Simon II (902-923)
David IV (923-929)
Isaac II (929-947)
Gagik I (947-958)
David VI (958-965)
David VII (965-971)
Peter III (971-987)
Moses III (987-993)
[According to the chronologies of Mkhitar Gosh and Cyriacus of
Gandzak the next four catholicoi reigned successively, 993-1079]
Mark I
Joseph III
Mark II
Stephen I
John V (1079-1129)
Stephen II (1129-1131)
[After whom there was an interregnum, according to Mkhitar Gosh
for eight years but according to Cyriacus of Gandzak for twenty-
five]
Gagik II the Youth anointed as Grigoris II (1139)
Bezhken (*ca.* 1140) [who married and apostatized]
Nerses II (1149-1155)
Stephen III (1155-1195)
John VI (1195-1235)
Nerses III (1235-1262), [brother of the preceding]

[Catholicosate moved to Gandzasar Monastery]

Stephen IV (1262-1323)

Sukias (*ca.* 1320)

Peter I (1323-1331)

Zacharias III (-1331-)

David VII?

[unknown occupants till 1402]

Karapet (1402-1420)

John VII (-1426-1428-)

Matthew III (-1434-)

Athanasius (1441)

Gregory II

John VIII Hasan-Jalaliants (1441-1470)

Azaria ?

Matthew III [1488]

Thomas? [1471]

Aristakes I Hasan-Jalaliants (-1471-)

Stephen V (-1476-)

Nerves IV (-1478-)

Arakel (1481-1497)

Shmavon I (-1481-)

Aristakes II Hasan-Jalaliants (-1515-1516-)

Sergius I Hasan-Jalaliants of Ghchlagh (-1554-)

Gregory II Hasan-Jalaliants, son of Mairambek (-1559-1574-)

Peter II (1571)

David VIII Hasan-Jalaliants (-1573-)

Philip of Tum (one year)

John IX, son of Mairambek (-1574-1595-)

David X (-1586-)

Athanasius II (-1585-)

Shmavon II (1586-1611)

Aristakes III of Kolatak (-1588-)

Melikset of Arash (-1593-)

Simon III (-1616-)

[unknown occupants till 1653]

Peter II (1653-1675)

Simon IV of Khotorashen (1675-1701)

Jeremiah II Hasan-Jalaliants (1676-1700)

Isaiah II Hasan-Jalaliants (1702-1728)

Nerves V anti-catholicos (1706-1736)

Israel (1728-1763)

Nerves VI (-1763-)

John X Hasan-Jalaliants (1763-1786)

Simon V of Khotorashen (1794-1810)

Sergius II Hasan-Jalaliants (1810-1815), deposed by the Russians, served as metropolitan of Karabagh until his death in 1828].

[The catholicosate of Aghuank was terminated by the Russians in 1830].

NOTES

1. Chogha or Choray is not to be confused with Darband, the present town of Derbent, as is often done even by early Armenian authors. MD/MK (II.39) makes it clear that Chogha/Chogha lay south of Derbent (“...Choghay, which is near Darband (...i durn *Choghay or e merdz i Darband*”), i.e. near to Chogha to a party coming from the south, a party that did not reach as far as Darband.
2. The name *Grigoris* is a variant of *Grigor* (Gregory). As customary, the primate, as the eldest son of St. Gregory the Illuminator, was named for his grandfather. The two forms of the name are treated here as identical and primates bearing the name are numbered accordingly.
3. It is assumed that the title “catholicos” came to be used in Aghuank only in the mid-fifth century as it was in Armenia and Iberia. MD/MK (III.23) makes no distinction between chief bishops and catholicoi and they are numbered here in one sequence.
4. The office of Metropolitan did not long endure and for the rest of the Tsarist period, the see was headed by the archbishop of Shushi, which like all other former territories under the Catholicos of Aghuank was totally under the jurisdiction of the Catholicos-Patriarch at Echmiatsin. This see was suppressed in the Soviet period (1936) but was restored after the fall of the Soviet Union. As the Archdiocese of Artsakh, it is now a fully functioning eparchy of the Armenian Church, with its seat at the restored monastery of Gandasar.

APPENDIX IV: DYNASTIC LISTS

Excerpts from Vrej Atabekian's. *Patriarchs, Kings and Rulers of Armenia*. Union of Armenian Nobility, Erevan, n.d.; and from Cyril Toumanoff's, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de la Caucاسie chrétienne* (Rome, 1976) and his *Dynasties de la Caucاسie chrétienne* (Rome, 1990).

I. Shahs of Persia

Safavid dynasty

Abbas I (1588-1629)

Safi I (1629-1642)

Abbas II (1642-1666)

Sulayman I / Safi II (1666-1696)

Huseyn I (1694-1722)

Tahmasp II (1722-1732)

Afshar dynasty

Nadir (1736-1747)

Adil (1747-1748)

Ibrahim (1748)

Zand dynasty

Muhammad Karim (1750-1779)

Abu-l-Fath and Muhammad Ali (1779)

Qajar dynasty

Agha Muhammad (1779-1797)

Fath Ali (1797-1834)

II. Ottoman Sultans of Turkey

Mehmet III (1595-1603)

Ahmed I (1603-1617)

Mustafa I (1617-1618)

Osman II (1618-1622)

Mustafa I (again, 1622-1623)

Murad IV (1623-1640)
 Ibrahim (1640-1648)
 Mehmet IV (1623-1640)
 Sulayman II (1687-1691)
 Ahmed II (1691-1695)
 Mustafa II (1695-1703)
 Ahmed III (1703-1730)
 Mahmud I (1730-1754)
 Osman III (1754-1757)
 Mustafa III (1757-1774)
 Abdul Hamid I (1774-1789)
 Selim III (1789-1807)
 Mustafa IV (1807-1808)
 Mahmud II (1808-1839)

III. Persian khans (governors) of Caucasia, until 1747 styled *beglarbeys*

Shahverdi-sultan Ziyad-oglu Qajar (*ca.* 1554-1570)
 Sultan Ali-mirza, son of Shah Tahmasp (1570-1577)
 [1588-1606 Ottoman occupation]
 Muhammed-khan ibn Khalil Ziyad-oglu (*ca.* 1606 - 1615)
 Murshid qoli-khan, son of the former (about 1615-1620)
 Muhammed qoli-khan, son of the former (*ca.* 1620-1626,) then *ca.* 1640-1650)
 Daud-khan, nephew of the former (*ca.* 1626-1640)
 Muhammed qoli-khan (again), *ca.* 1640-1650)
 Murtaza qoli-khan (*ca.* 1650-1660)
 Ugurlu-khan I (*ca.* 1663)
 [Period of unknown khans]
 [1722-1730 rule of Armenian meliks]
 Ugurlu-khan II (1730-1738)
 Haji-khan Chemishkezek (1743-1747)
 Shahverdi-khan (1747-1760)
 Muhammed Hasan-khan (1760-1782)
 Ibrahim Khalil khan, khan Karabakha (1782-1784)
 Muhammed Hasan-khan (again), 1784
 Haji-beg (1784-1787)
 Javad-khan (1787-1804)
 [khanate annexed by Russia, 1804].

IV. Meliks or princes of Siunik, centered at the fortress of Ghan/Kapan

1. Meliks of Tatev (ca. 1650-1722)

Melik-Baghir (ca. 1690-1722)

Davit-bek (1722-1725)

Mkhitar-sparapet (1725-1727)

Ayvaz-bek (1727-1730)

2. Meliks of Kapan (Parsadanians, ca. 1630-1780)

Parsadan I (ca. 1630-1650)

Sergius (Sarkis), son of the former (ca. 1650-1670)

Palasan (Pali) I, son (ca. 1670-1690)

Parsadan II, son (ca. 1690-1724)

Palasan II, son (ca. 1724-1750)

Parsadan III, son (ca. 1750-1780)

III. Artsakh (Karabakh)

1. Meliks of Khachen (Hasan-Jalalians, ca. 1240-1780).

Lords of the melikdom (principality) of Khachen, (ca. 1240-1780)

Hasan Jalal-dola (ca. 1240-1261)

Atabek I, son (ca. 1261-1290)

Jalal II, son (1269/1290-ca. 1311)

Atabek II /John, son (fl. 1350)

Jalal III the Great, son (fl. 1417)

Agbast/Athanasius (*Atanas*), son (ca. 1420-1440)

John I (ca. 1440-1460)?

Saytun/Aytun (ca. 1460-1480)

Hatir, son (p. 1457-p.1467)

Velijan, brother (p. 1467-1510)

Mehrab/Sergius (*Sargis*), son (ca. 1540-1560)

Jalal IV, son (ca. 1580-1610)

Velijan II /John (*Hovhannes*), son II (ca. 1610-1634)

Balthasar (Baghtasar), son (fl. ca. 1630)

Velijan III/Aytin (?-1688)

Mulki, brother (1686-1716)
 Gregory III, son (1716-1747)
 Allaverdi I, brother (1747-1755)
 [annexed by Persia]
 Allahverdi II, grandson (1775-1813)
 [annexed by Russia]

2. Melikdom (principality) of Varanda
 Mets-Ishkhans of Varanda (about 1540-1603)

a. Ulubekid dynasty (*ca.* 1540-1810)

Mirza khan (*ca.* 1540-1560)
 Melik Pap, son (*ca.* 1560-1570)
 Melik Avan, brother (*ca.* 1570-1590)
 Melik Adam, son (*ca.* 1590-1603)

b. Melik-Shahnazarian dynasty (1603-1828)

Mirza-beg (*ca.* 1603-1630)
 Bagi, son (*ca.* 1630-1670)
 Shahnazar I, son (*ca.* 1670-1695)
 Baghir, son (*ca.* 1695-1725)
 Huseyn I, son (*ca.* 1725-1736)
 Mirza, son (*1736-ca.* 1747)
 Joseph/Huseyn II brother (*ca.* 1747-*ca.* 1750)
 Shahnazar III, brother (*ca.* 1750-*ca.* 1791)
 Huseyn II, son (1791-1802)
 Melik-Jamshid, brother (ca. 1802-1812)
 Melik-Jahanbakhshi, brother (1812-1822)
 Khudud, nephew (1822-1828)
 [Russian annexation]

3. Melikdom (principality) of Jraberd

a. Melik-Israelian dynasty (*ca.* 1687-1790)

Melik Isaiah (*Esai*) (*ca.* 1687-1710)
 Melik Allaguli-sultan, son (*ca.* 1710-1730)
 Melik Mirza-khan, son (*ca.* 1730-1760)
 Melik Allaverdi, son (*ca.* 1760-1790)

b. Atabekian dynasty (*ca.* 1814-1850)

Melik Vani (1814-1848, died 1854)

4. Melikdom (principality) of Giulistan, Melik-Beglarian dynasty
(ca. 1610-1799)

Kara yuzbashi Abov (ca. 1610-1632)

Melik Beglar, son (ca. 1632-1650)

Melik Abov, son (ca. 1650-1690)

Melik Isaiah (*Esai*), son (ca. 1690-1730)

Melik Tamraz, son (ca. 1730-1760)

Melik Abov, son (ca. 1760-1790)

5. Melikdom (principality) of Dizak, Melik-Avanian / Melik-Eganian dynasty (1716-1781)

Melik Egan (1716-1744)

Melik Aram, son (1744-1745)

Melik Isaiah (*Esai*), brother (1745-1781)

6. Heads of Sghnakhs (Military strongholds)

a. Khachen (centered at Gandzasar)

Isaiah (*Esai*) Hasan-Jalalian, catholicos of Gandzasar (1721-1727)

John (Ivane) Karapet (Hovhannes Karapetian) (1723-1728)

b. Varanda (centered at Kochiz-Avetaranots)

Melik-Baghir (1721-1728)

Avan-yuzbashi (1721-1728, 1724 became khan)

Tarkhan-yuzbashi (1721-1728)

c. Dizak (centered at Togh)

Melik Egan (1721-1724)

d. Gulistan (centered at Gulistan castle)

Sergius yuzbashi (1721-1724)

Melik Isaiah (*Esai*) (1721-1726)

IV. Karabakh khanate (1606-1822)

Persian governors:

Administrative center: Shushi (from 1751)

Muhammed-khan (*ca.* 1606-1620)

Murshid qoli-khan (*ca.* 1620)

Muhammed qoli-khan (*ca.* 1620-1625) (*ca.* 1642-1650)

Davud-khan (1626-1642)

Murtaza qoli-khan (*ca.* 1650)

Ugurlu-khan I (*ca.* 1663)

[unknown khans]

1722-1730 independent rule of Armenian meliks

Ugurlu-khan II (1730-1748)

Panah Ali-khan (1748-1759)

Ibrahim Halil-khan, son (1759-1806)

Mollah Panah Vagif (vezir 1760-1797)

Mehti qoli-khan, son (1806-1822) (1826, 1828)

[annexed by Russia, 1828]

5. Melik-Shahnazarian dynasty of Gegharkunik (*ca.* 1480-1760)

Ishkhan mirza (*ca.* 1480-1510)

Melik Set, son (*ca.* 1510-1530)

[unknown meliks]

Melik Shahnazар (*ca.* 1578-1608)

Baron Eavri-beg, son (*ca.* 1608-1625)

Baron Abov, brother (*ca.* 1625-1630)

Melik Balasan (*ca.* 1630-1640)

Baron Melik-beg (*ca.* 1640-1670)

Melik Mirza-khan (*ca.* 1670-1710)

Melik Sergius (Sargis), son (*ca.* 1710-1730)

Melik Manuchar, son (*ca.* 1730-1760)

V. Erevan khanate (1604-1828)

Capital: Erevan

Persian rulers:

Amirgune-khan I (1604-628)
Tahmasp qoli-khan (1628-1634)
[1634-1636 Ottoman occupation]
Kalbali-khan (1636-1641)
Ketukh Ahmad-khan (1641-1645)
Khosrov-khan (ca. 1645-1650)
Muhammed-khan I (ca. 1650-1655)
Najaf-khan (ca. 1655-1660)
Abbas qoli-khan (ca. 1660-1665)
Sefi qoli-khan I (ca. 1655-1670)
Sefi qoli-khan II (ca. 1670-1675)
Zaal-khan (ca. 1675-1680)
Murtaza qoli-khan (ca. 1680-1682)
Muhammed-khan II (1682-1688)
Farzali-khan (ca. 1688-710)
Amirgune-khan II (ca. 1710-1724)
[1724 -1736 Ottoman occupation]
Tahmasp qoli-khan (ca. 1736-1740)
Mahmud qoli-khan (ca. 1740-1745)
Mehti-khan Qasymlu (ca. 1745-1748)
Hasan Ali-khan (1748-1750)
Huseyn Ali-khan (ca. 1750-1780)
[unknown khans]
Muhammed-khan (1796-1804)
Mehti qoli-khan (1804-1806)
Ahmad-khan (1806-1808)
Huseyn qoli-khan (1808-1828)
[annexed by Russia, 1828]

VI. Nakhijevan (Nakhchavan) khanate (ca. 1650-1834)

Capital: Nakhijevan

Persian governors:

Haidar qoli-khan (ca. 1751)

Kalbali-khan (ca. 1779)

Qerim-khan, khan Qangarly (ca. 1810-1834)

[annexed by Russia. 1834]

APPENDIX V: CHRONOLOGY

- 1453—Constantinople falls to the Turks; end of the Byzantine Empire.
- 1480—Muscovite Russia (Muscovy) independent of the Mongols.
- 1489—Venetians acquire Cyprus from the Cornaro family, titular kings of Armenia; the title now passes to the house of Savoy.
- 1492-1496—Constantine II of East Georgia (K‘art‘li) approaches Egypt and Spain for aid against the Ottoman Turks.
- 1501-1524—Reign of Ismail Safi, founder of the Safavid dynasty in Persia.
- 1502—Battle of Sharur; Ottomans defeat the White Sheep Turkomans ending their more than a century domination over Armenia.
- 1502-1736—Safavid dynasty rules over Persia.
- 1502-1827—Persian domination of Eastern Armenia; Erevan (Per. *Iravan*) becomes chief city of the region and the center of Persian rule.
- 1510—First Ottoman invasion of West Georgia.
- 1512-1514—First Ottoman-Safavid war; Battle of Chaldiran; Ottoman Turks on the Armenian Plateau thereafter.
- 1514-1517—Ottoman conquest of Western Armenia.
- 1520-1566—Reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, greatest of Ottoman sultans.
- 1529—First Ottoman siege of Vienna.
- 1533-1534—Second Ottoman-Safavid war; Ottomans occupy Tabriz.
- 1534—Ottomans occupy Van.
- 1547-1555—Third Ottoman-Safavid war.
- 1548—Ottomans again occupy Tabriz.
- 1551—Ottomans take Artanuji in West Georgia; Safavid shahs annex Shekki
- 1552—Persians counterattack and take Erzurum.
- 1555—Peace of Amasya; Turks retain conquests in Mesopotamia.
- 1562—Second secret council at Echmiatsin to seek Western help against Muslim rule.
- 1566—Ottoman Empire at its height.
- 1571, 7 Oct.—Naval battle of Lepanto; Turkish fleet destroyed;

- beginning of the decline of the Ottoman Empire.
- 1577-1590—Fourth Ottoman-Safavid war; Turks acquire Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Shirwan, extending their empire to Derbent on the Caspian Sea.
- 1580—Ottoman Turks take Erevan and Karabagh from the Safavids.
- 1581—John Newberry visits Armenia; beginning of steady stream of European travelers in Turkey, Persia, Armenia, and Caucasia; Dutch, English, and French begin extensive trade in the East.
- 1585—Rapid decline of the Ottoman Empire sets in largely from internal decay; Catholicos Azaria of Cilicia seeks aid from Pope Gregory XIII against the Muslims.
- 1587-1629—Reign of Abbas I, greatest of the Safavid Shahs.
- 1590-1610—Height of the Jalali revolt against Ottoman rule; Persian capital moved from Qazvin to Isfahan
- 1602-1618—Sixth Ottoman-Safavid war; Abbas retakes Tabriz, Erevan, Shirwan, and Kars from the Turks with an army reorganized with English help; At war's end, Turks abandon Azerbaijan and Georgia.
- 1603-1618—Shah Abbas I deports the Armenian population of Eastern Armenia to Persia.
- 1604—Nakhichevan, a part of Iravan province, made a separate khanate by Shah Abbas I.
- 1605—Founding of New Julfa, the Armenian suburb of Isfahan, the Safavid capital.
- 1606—Founding of the melikdom of Varanda in Karabagh with approval of Shah Abbas.
- 1612—Ottoman Sultan signs peace with the Persians.
- 1625-1639—Seventh Ottoman-Safavid war.
- ca. 1625—Abov I establishes the melikdom of Giulistan.
- 1629-1632—Moses III becomes catholico-patriarch of Armenia; restoration of Echmiatsin, ruined in the Turko-Persian wars.
- 1630—Jean-Baptiste Tavernier and Clemente Galano (Theatin missionary) visit Armenia (separately).
- 1631-1679—Travels of Evliya Chelebi, resulting in a 10-volume description of the Ottoman Empire.
- 1631—Seminary opened at Echmiatsin under Catholic influence.
- 1634-1639—Eighth Ottoman-Safavid war. First campaign of Sultan Murad IV against Persia.
- 1634, 8 Aug.—Erevan falls to the Turks.

- 1634, 15 Sept.—Tabriz surrenders to the Turks.
- 1638—Second campaign of Murad IV; Turks retake Baghdad.
- 1639—Treaty of Zohab (Zuhab); final settlement between the Ottoman and Safavid Empires dividing Armenia between them; Turks keep Baghdad; Persians keep Erevan and Tabriz.
- 1663—Khachatur, catholicos of Cilicia, and other eastern prelates ask aid of Louis XIV against Muslim rule.
- 1664—Ninth Ottoman-Safavid war. Fall of Hamadan to the Turks.
- 1655-1680—Reign of Catholicos-Patriarch James of New Julfa.
- 1677—Third secret council held at Echmiatsin to seek Western help against Muslim rule.
- 1677-1681—First Russo-Turkish war; by the treaty of Radzin, Turkey loses control of most of Ukraine.
- 1680—Catholicos-Patriarch James dies at Constantinople on route to submit the Armenian Church to the Pope.
- 1682-1725—Reign of Peter the Great.
- 1683—Second Turkish siege of Vienna; beginning of Ottoman military decline.
- 1687-1702—Second Russo-Turkish war; Russians take fortress of Azov at north end of Sea of Azov, thereby reaching the Black Sea.
- 1687—Isaiah Haykazian establishes the melikdom of Jraberd.
- 1699-1711—Israel Ori (1660-1711) launches his movement for the liberation of Armenia from Muslim rule.
- 1699—Ottoman-Austrian treaty of Carlowitz, first unfavorable treaty signed by the Ottoman Turks. Meliks send letter to the Pope.
- 1702-1728—Reign of Isaiah Hasan Jalaliants as activist catholicos of Aghuank.
- 1710-1711—Third Russo-Turkish war; Russia defeated and loses Azov.
- 1711—Israel Ori dies at Astrakhan
- 1719-1724—Avan *yuzbashi* founds the fort of Shushi.
- 1722—Afghans invade Persia; Armenians of New Julfa suburb of Isfahan plundered.
- 1722-1723—First Russo-Persian war.
- 1722-1728—Revolt of David-Bek against Persian rule; Armenians establish the independent principality of Kapan (Ghapan).
- 1722-1729—Afghan occupation of Persia.
- 1722—Secret meeting on the Isle of Lim to involve Western

- Armenians in the struggle of David Beg.
- 1723—First fall of Baku to the Russians.
- 1723-1735—Turkish domination in the East Georgian kingdoms of Kartli and Kakheti.
- 1724?—Ottoman Turks capture Erevan.
- 1725-1727—By agreement with Russia, Turkey occupies the western part of South Caucasia.
- 1728—David-Beg is killed.
- 1730—Fall of Kapan / Ghapan; Persians under Nadir Shah drive the Turks out of western South Caucasia.
- 1730-1740—Reign of Anna Ivanovna, niece of Peter I the Great.
- 1732—Treaty of Rasht, Russians cede Caspian lowlands to Persia.
- 1735—Russians cede Derbent and Baku to Persia; death of Avan-*yuzbashi* in Russia.
- 1734-1737—Abraham of Crete, catholicos-Patriarch of Armenia
- 1735-1747—Persian domination of East Georgia (Kartli and Kakheti).
- 1736—Nadir Shah is crowned shah of Persia in the Plain of Mughan with Catholicos Abraham of Crete in attendance; famine in Karabagh.
- 1738-1739—Fourth Russo-Turkish war; Russians retake Azov; by the Treaty of Belgrad, Russia agrees to destroy Azov.
- 1740-1761—Reign of Elizabeth Petrovna, daughter of Peter I the Great.
- 1740—khanate of Ganja founded by Shahverdi khan.
- 1742—Shemakhi destroyed by Nadir Shah. New Shemakhi founded 16 mi. to the West..
- 1743-1746—Tenth Ottoman-Persian war; Nadir Shah defeats the Ottomans and is master of Persia.
- 1744—Death of Melik Egan in Armenia.
- 1746—Treaty of Kerden establishes boundary between the Ottoman and Persian Empires;
- ca. 1747—Nadir Shah assassinated. Panah Ali Javanshir become first khan of Karabagh.
- 1747-1797—Fifty years of civil war in Persia; khanates of Darband and Nakhichevan become autonomous.
- 1748-1750—The khanates of Erevan, Ganja, and Nakhichevan

- become tributary to the kingdom of Central Georgia (Kartli).
- 1748—khanate of Shirvan founded.
- 1750-1752—Panah Ali, khan of Karabagh, reconstructs the fortifications of Shushi.
- 1757—Death of Panah Ali Javanshir, first khan of Karabagh
- 1759-1806—khanate of Darband annexed by the khanate of Quba.
- ca. 1760—Joseph Emin works for Armenian independence in Russia.
- 1762-1796—Reign of Catherine the Great.
- 1762—Unification of the East Georgian kingdoms of Kartli and Kakheti; death of Panah Ali, khan of Karabagh
- 1762-1796—Reign of Ibrahim Khalil, second khan of Karabagh.
- 1762-1798—Reign of Heracles II as king of East Georgia\ (Kartli-Kakheti).
- 1768-1774—Fifth Russo-Turkish war.
- 1768-1789—khanate of Shirvan occupied by the khan of Quba.
- 1770—Georgians defeat Turks at Aspindza.
- 1770—Printing press established at Echmiatsin.
- 1771—Russians overrun the Crimean khanate.
- 1774—Russo-Turkish treaty of Küçük Kainarji; Russians allowed to build a church in the Galata quarter of Constantinople and to have the right to protect it, leading to the later Russian claim to be the protector of all Christians in the Ottoman Empire.
- 1776—American Declaration of Independence.
- 1781-1784—Ganje occupied by Ibrahim Khalil, khan of Karabagh.
- 1783—By the Russo-Georgian Treaty of Georgievsk, Georgia becomes a Russian protectorate. Ibrahim, khan of Karabagh, appeals to the Russians for protection against the Persians and the Turks.
- 1786—Old Shemakhi rebuilt and New Shemakhi abandoned.
- 1787-1792—Sixth Russo-Turkish war; by the Treaty of Jassy, Russo-Turkish boundary set on the Dniester River.
- 1789—United States Constitution adopted.
- 1789—French Revolution.
- 1790—Ten point *Bill of Rights* added to the U.S. Constitution.
- 1793—French *Declaration of the Rights of Man*; earliest Ottoman reforms:the “New Regulations”.
- 1794—Qajar or Kajar dynasty rules Persia until 1925.
- 1795—Battle of Krtsanisi; sack of Tbilisi (Tiflis) by Agha

- Muhammad khan, eunuch shah of Persia; Agha Muhammad massacres population of Shushi.
- 1795—Russians briefly occupy Shemakhi and Baku.
- 1796-1801—Reign of Tsar Paul.
- 1796/1797—Russian expedition against the Muslim khans of South Caucasia.
- 1797-1799—Ibrahim, khan of Karabagh, again appeals to the Russians for aid.
- 1798-1801—Reign of George XII, last king of East Georgia.
- 1799—Melik delegation journeys to St. Petersburg seeking Russian aid.
- 1801—Russia annexes the East Georgian kingdom of Kartli-Kakheti (Russ. *Kartaliniia*). Reign of Alexander I (1801-1825).
- 1804—Russians take Ganja.
- 1805—General Tsitsianov removes the Armenians of the khanates of Shemakha, Nukha, Baku, and Derbent, as well as those of Karabagh, from the authority of the catholicos of Aghuank and places them under the jurisdiction of the catholic-patriarch at Echmiatsin; Second —Kurekchai treaty signed making Shekki a vassal of Russia.
- 1805-1813—Second Russo-Persian war.
- 1805—Russians occupy Karabagh.
- 1806—Russians annex khanates of Shekki and Shirvan..
- 1806-1812—Seventh Russo-Turkish war; second and final Russian occupation of Baku (1806-1991).
- 1810—Russia annexes the West Georgian kingdom of Imereti.
- 1812—Napoleon's invasion of Russia; Armenian Prince V. G. Madatov of Karabagh the hero at Leipzig.
- 1813—Russo-Persian Treaty of Gulistan (*Giulistan*) recognizes all of Russia's conquests in Transcaucasia: the khanates of Ganja, Karabagh, Quba, and Baku.
- 1815—Last catholikos of Aghuank deposed.
- 1819—Russians abolish khanate of Shaki; city if Shaki renamed Nukha.
- 1820—Russians abolish khanate of Shirvan.
- 1825-1855—Reign of Nicholas I; ultraconservative era in Russia.
- 1825-1828—Third and final Russo-Persian war.
- 1827—Russian conquest of Eastern Armenia; Erevan falls to General Paskievich, 1 October; Swiss mission station established

at Shushi.

1827-1917—Eastern Armenia under Tsarist Russian rule.

1828—Eighth Russo-Turkish war; Russo-Persian Treaty of Turkmanchai; Persians recognize losses of the treaty of Giulistan and cede the khanates of Erevan and Nakhichevan to Russia.

1828-1840—“Armenian Province” established by Russians comprising the former Persian khanates of Erevan and Nakhichevan with Erivan (*sic*) as capital.

1828-1829 Ninth Russo-Turkish war; Treaty of Adrianople; Russians take Adrianople (Edirne), Kars, and Erzurum; much of the pashalik (military province) of Akhaltsikhe ceded to Russia but by the treaty of Adrianople, Adrianople, Kars, and Erzurum are returned.

1828 Death of Sergius II Hasan-Jalaliants.

APPENDIX VI: GENEALOGICAL CHARTS

In his first collection of genealogical charts relevant to the nobility of Armenia and Georgia (1976), the late pioneer Armenianist, Cyril Toumanoff included a number of charts of the meliks of Eastern Armenia based on material that I had collected in the years preceding the publication of his book. By 1990, however, when he felt it necessary to publish a revised and expanded version of his book, the size of the work had grown until it was no longer practical to include everything that had appeared in the first edition. The solution chosen by Toumanoff was to eliminate every chart relevant solely to the melik houses and to leave my own revised and expanded charts to be published separately in a book that I was then planning to write on the melik houses. Thus, in the second edition of Toumanoff's book (1990), where each melik chart would have begun, he inserted the letter "H" (for "Hewsen") indicating in his Preface that these omitted charts were to be found in my planned book.

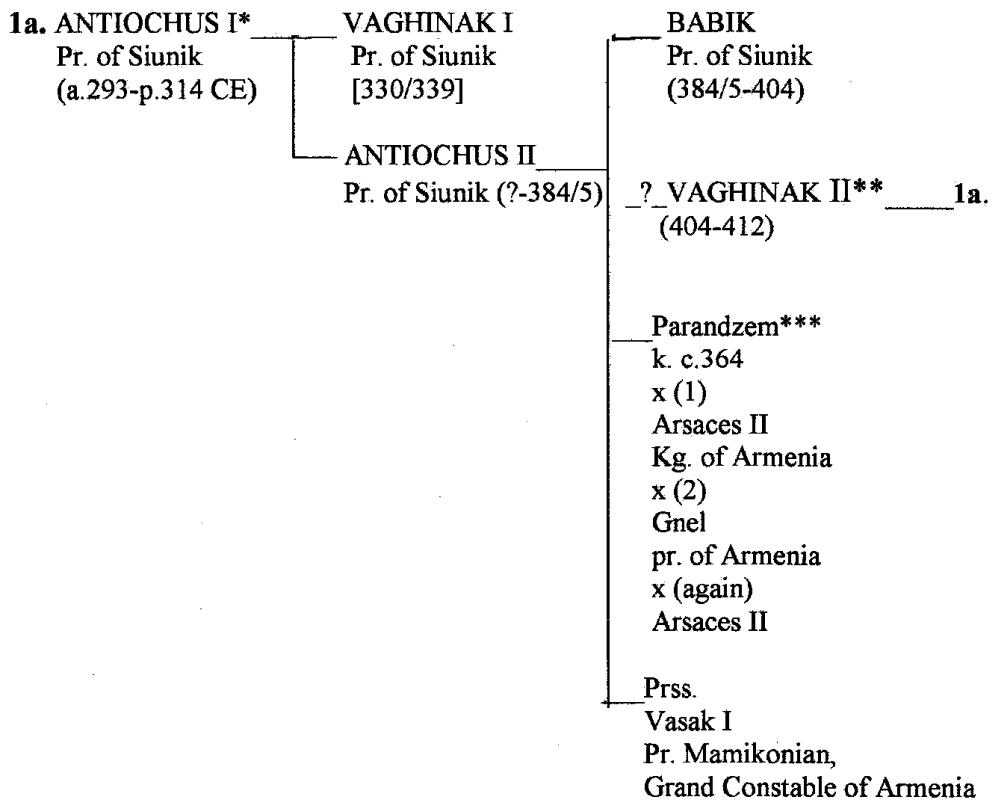
Many years have passed since Toumanoff returned my charts to me for republication in my own work and many changes have been made in these charts to bring them up to date with recent findings. The book in hand, however, must not yet be taken as the "H" referred to by Toumanoff, for the charts, although corrected, are somewhat schematic, only figures of importance have been included in them and, as they stand, they do not represent my final word on the descent of the melik houses. My earlier charts, found in Toumanoff (1976) and before that in preliminary form in the *REA, n.s. IX-XI* (1972-1975) are now obsolete and, wherever they differ from the ones in this volume, the revisions here are to be given preference over any earlier versions.

ABBREVIATIONS

- a. — ante (before)
- d. — died
- k. — killed
- p. — post (after)
- x. — marriage between two individuals
- ? — The affiliation between one individual and another is uncertain.

- (r. 1500-1550) — The dates are those of the individual's reign.
[1500] — No dates are known for this individual but he or she is believed to have been living at this time.
(-1270-) — The individual is known to have lived in this year but no earlier or later attestation is available.
1228/9 — The date is either 1228 or 1229.
Haghbat /Khaghbat — Both versions of the name are found in the sources.

1. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI
Immemorial Princes of Siunik
(Ancestors of the Meliks of Artsakh-Karabagh)



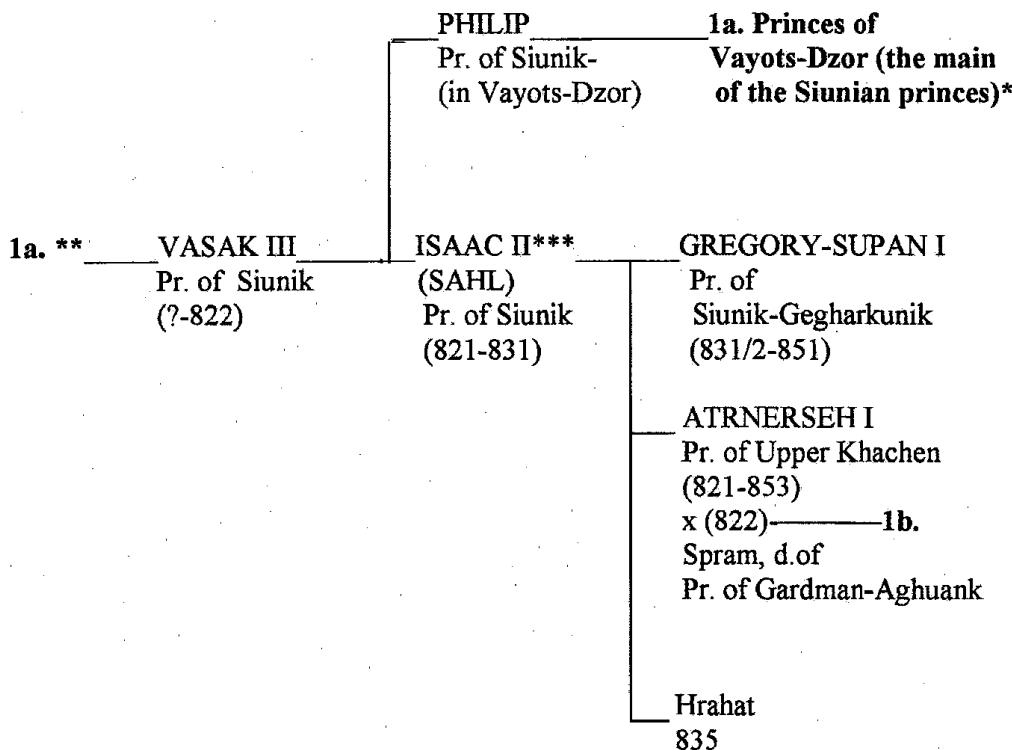
*The house of Siuni owned Siunik, the largest principality in ancient Armenia. Antiochus (Andovk), the earliest known member of the house, flourished in the early fourth century at the time of the conversion of Armenia to Christianity.

**The exact place of Vaghinak II in the family is uncertain.

***Mother of King Pap of Armenia (c.368-c.374)

2. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

Princes of Siunik



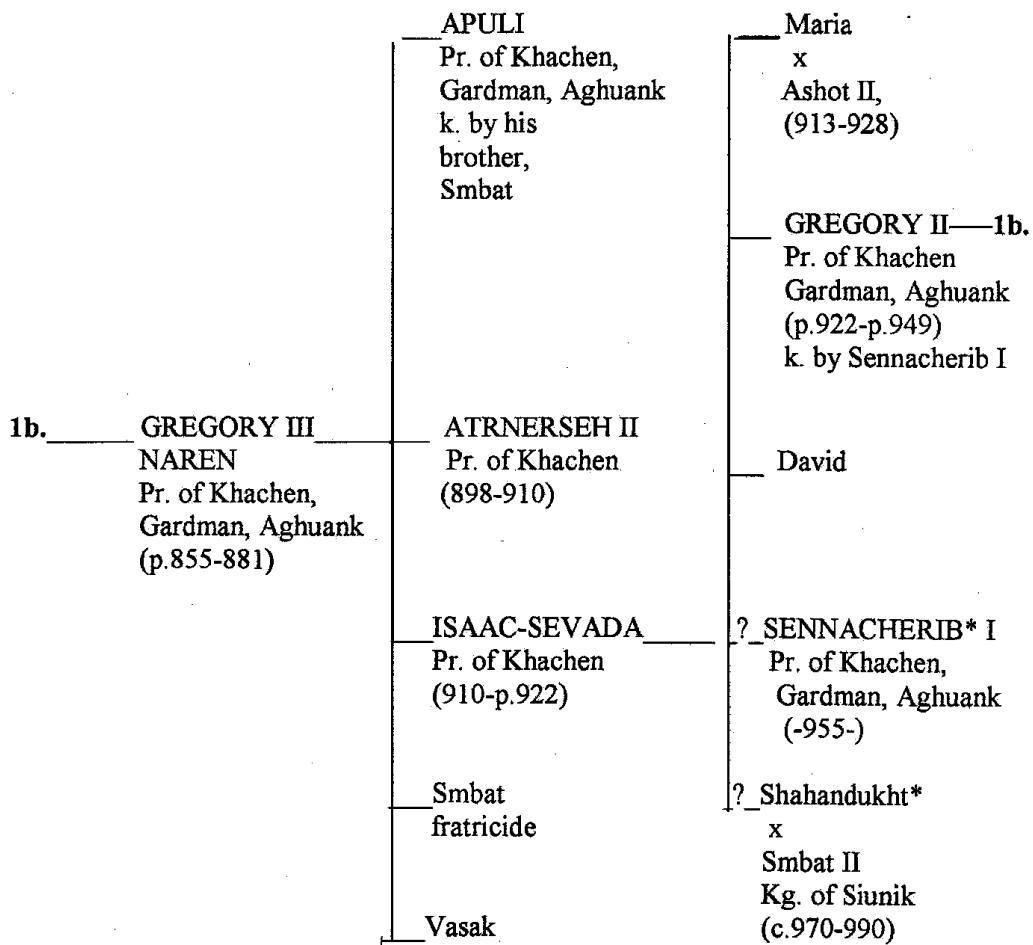
* The main line(s) in Siunik are not continued in these charts, which concentrate on the branches in Artsakh/Karabagh.

** Approximately 20 generations existed between Vaghinak II, who died in 412, (see Chart 1) and Vasak III. These are elided here as their filiation is uncertain during that period.

*** In this period the house of Siunik began to break up into separate lines holding different parts of the earlier principality. Philip ruled only over Vayots-Dzor; Atrnerseh acquired Khachen and then married Spram, the heiress to the claims to Aghuank, which she passed to her husband and to their descendants (1b. *passim*).

3. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

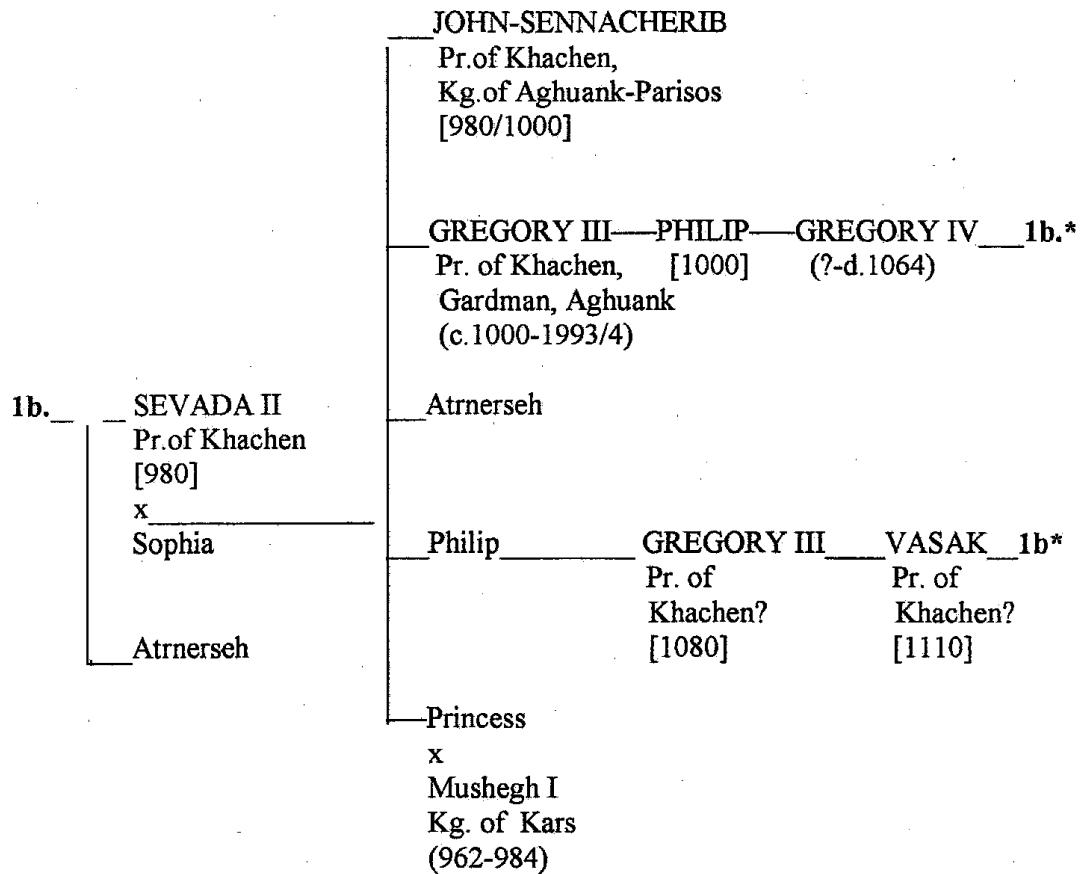
Princes of Khachen, Gardman and Aghuank (ancestors of the chief melik houses).



*The exact places of Sennacherib and Shahandukht in the family are uncertain.

4. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

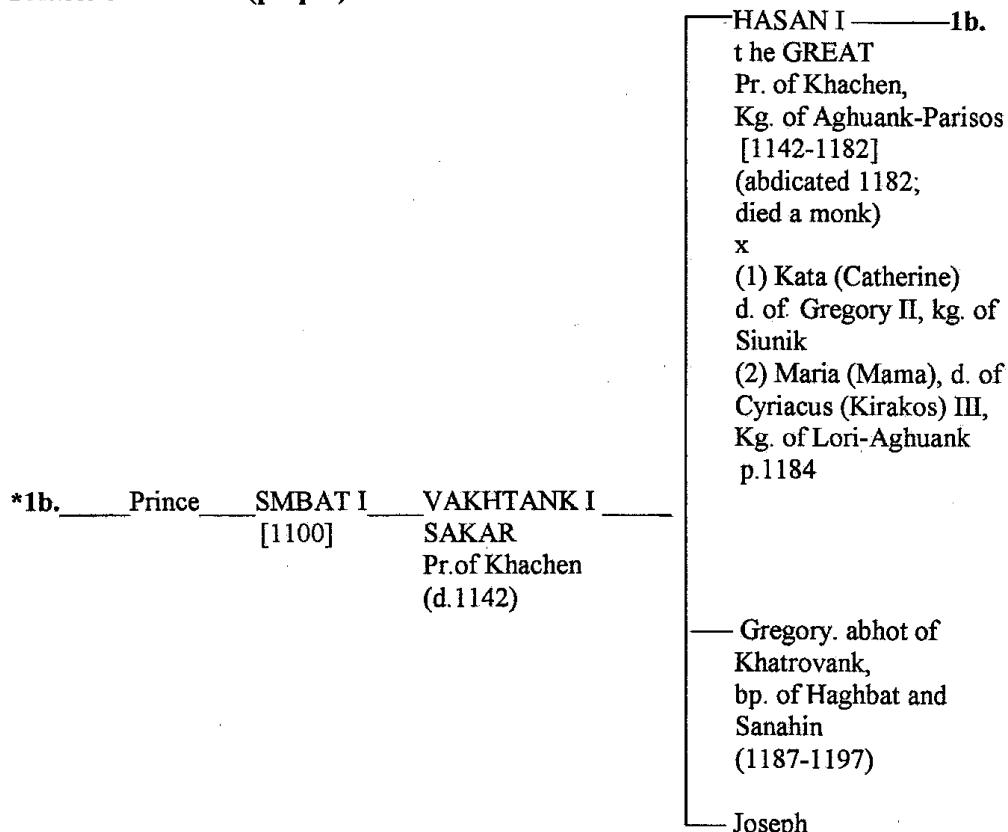
Princes of Khachen, Gardman and Aghuank



*The sources are unclear as to whether the line continues from Gregory IV or from Vasak, son of Gregory III..

5. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)
Princes of Khachen, Gardman and Aghuank

Princes of Khachen (proper)



****Princes of Upper Khachen (Tsar)**

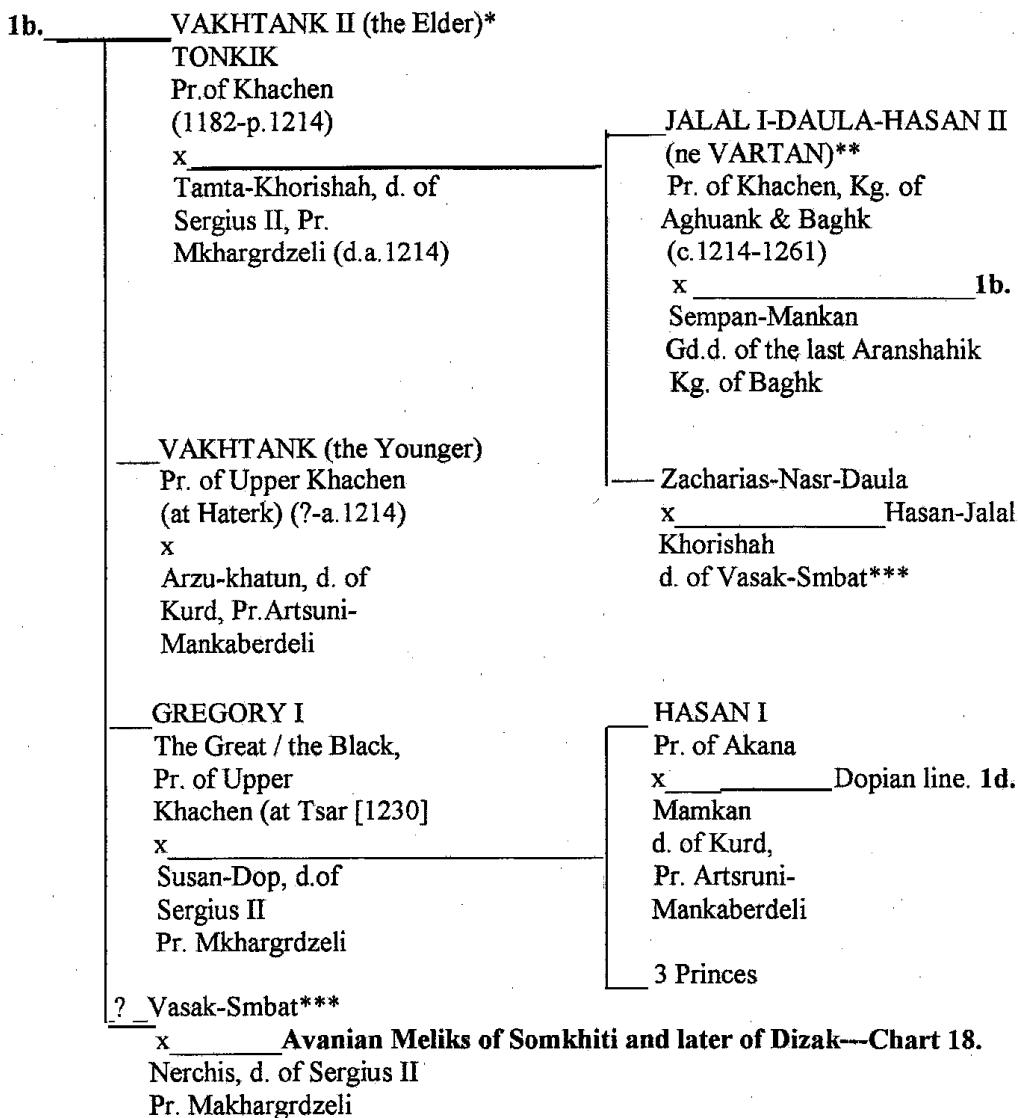
?1c. Jajur	KHAGHBAK HAGHBAK [1120] Pr. of Upper Khachen	Haghbakians/ Proshians, Princes of Upper Khachen	Haykazian—Chart 7. Meliks of Tsagatsor, (Zangezur) then of Vayots-dzor, then Israelian Meliks of Jraberd
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*The line continues either from Gregory IV or from Vasak of the previous chart 4.

*The origin of the princes of Upper Khachem is not known beyond the fact that they were certainly a branch of the house of Siunik and probably of its line ruling Khachen.

6. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

Princes of Khachen, Gardman and Aghuank



*The two Vakhtanks were probably each by the two different wives of Hasan II (see: Chart 5).

** Armenian princes with non-Christian names usually had a Christian baptismal name which we rarely know.

*** Vasak-Smbat, cited as founder of this line, may have been a son of one or the other.

7. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

Princes of Khachen, Gardman and Aghuank

1b. Hasan-Jalalian Meliks of Khachen

1b.	JOHN-	JALAL II	ATABEK II	JALAL III	AGHBAST.	1b.
	ATABEK I	Pr. of Khachen (c.1306- (1261- c.1306)	Pr. of Khachen (c.1350)	Pr. of Khachen (-1417-)		
	John VII	Catholicos of Aghuank (-1323-)			John VIII	
					Catholicos of Aghuank (a.1441-1470))	

1d. Dopian princes of Upper Khachen (Tsar)

1d.	GREGORY II					
	Pr. of Upper Khachen (1289/90-1317)					
x	VAHRAM	SERGIUS	HASAN II			
Aspa	Pr. of Upper Khachen (1317-?)	Pr. of Upper Khachen [1359]	Pr. of Upper Khachen (?-1387) k. in battle			
d. of				x	SHAHANSHAH	
Tarsayich	Khachen	Khachen	Khachen	Tatun	Pr. of Upper Khachen	
Pr. of				d. of	(1387-1411))	
Siunik				Kurd, Pr.		
d.1317				Amatuni		
					Aghnugha	Aytinian-
						Abovian-
						Beglarian
						Meliks of
						Gulistan
						(Chart 14)
				Jahanshah	Jahanshian*	Meliks of
						Tsar

*Not shown in these charts.

8. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

2b. Hasan-Jalalian Meliks of Khachen*

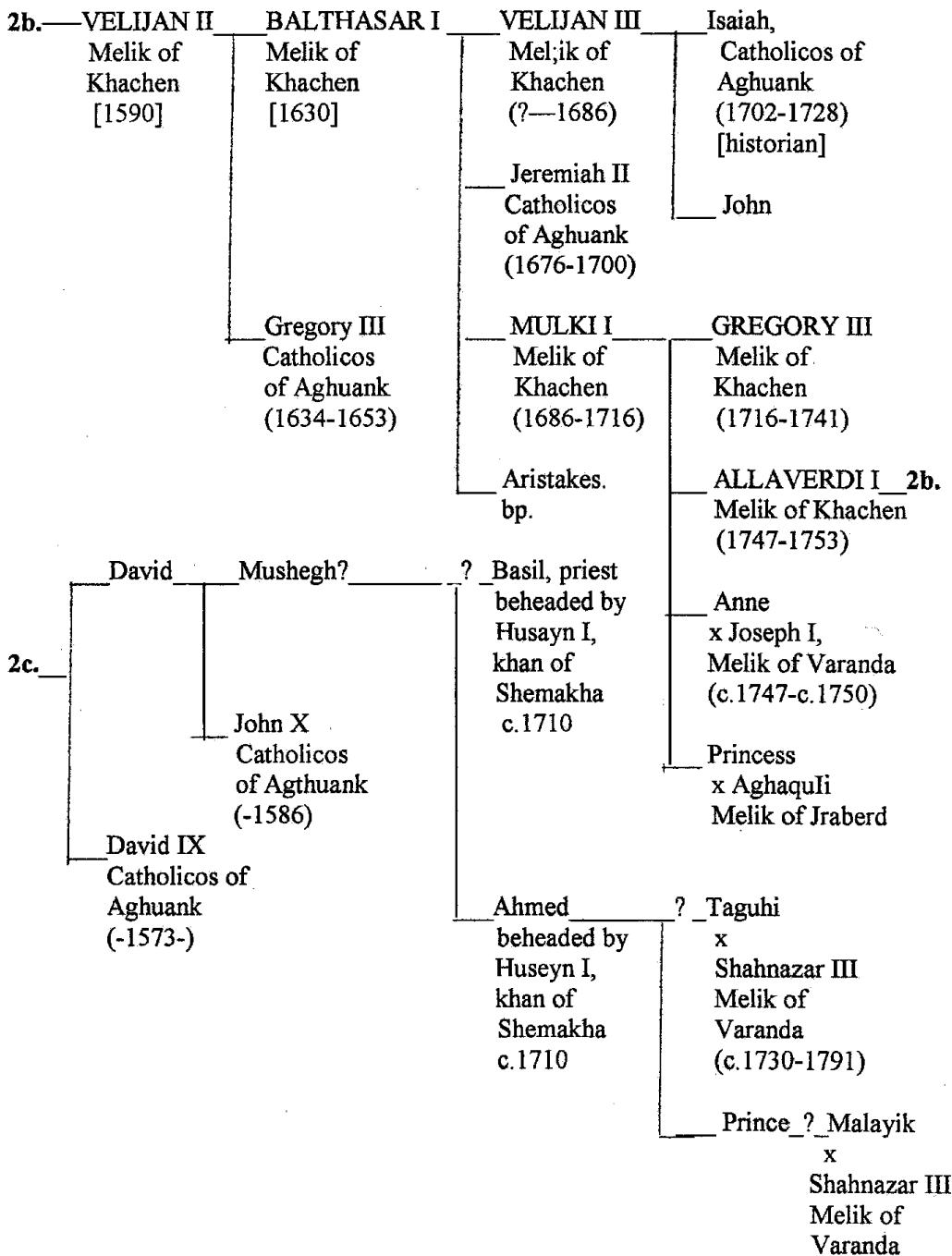
2b.	SAYTUN/	HATIR	MEHRAB	JALAL IV	2b.
	AYTUN Pr. of Khachen (p1458-?)	Melik of Khachen (p.1457- p.1467)	Melik of Khachen [1520]	Melik of Khachen [1550]	
			Sergius I Catholicos of Aghuank (1521-1555)	Gregory II Catholicos of Aghuank (1559-1574)	
		Aristakes I Catholicos of Aghuank (?-1471)	John X Catholicos of Aghuank (?-1586)		
				Balthasar	2c.
		VELIJANI I Melik of Khachen (p.1467-1491)			

*After the execution by the Mongols of Jalal-Daula-Hasan (1261), who had ruled the whole of Artsakh-Karabagh, the family began to break into various branches each holding its own lands: the Hasan-Jalalian princes of Khachen in the center, the Dopians (Ulubekian-Shahnazarians) in the north, and the Avanians in the south. In the late fifteenth century, the Dopians broke into three branches; the Shahnazarians broke into three in the seventeenth.

After Hasan-Jalal-Daula the House of Khachen kept a low profile eschewing all titles save that of Prince of Khachen. Some time before the death of their overlord, Jehan-Shah (1436-1468), chieftain of the Black Sheep Turcoman (the Qara Koyunlu Federation), he gave the hereditary rank of melik (dynast), to the head of the family and to the head of each of its branches. The Hasan-Jalalians meliks had their seat at the alternate villages of Akana and Haterk in the middle valley of the Terter (Trtu) River.

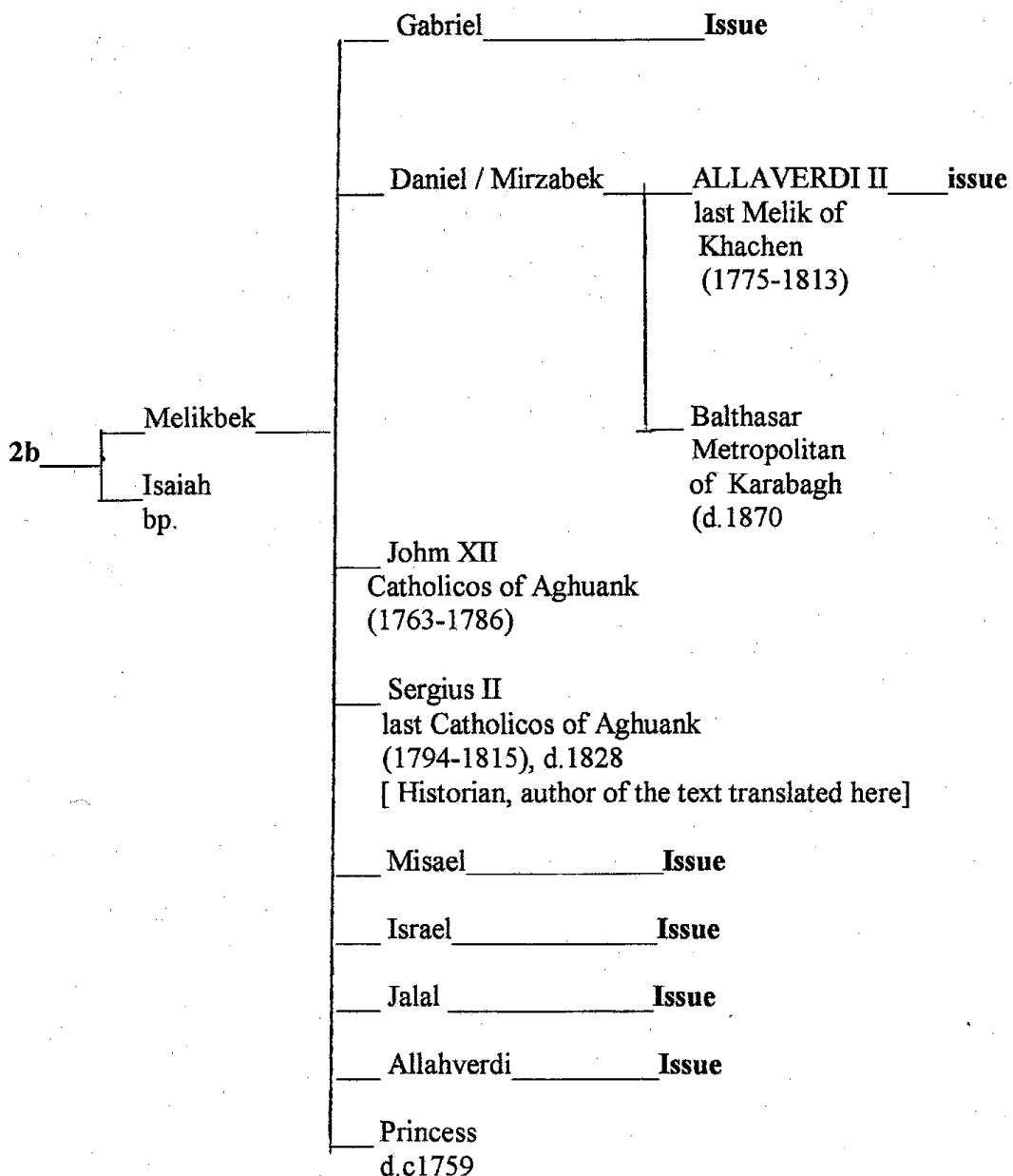
9. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

Hasan-Jalalian Meliks of Khachen



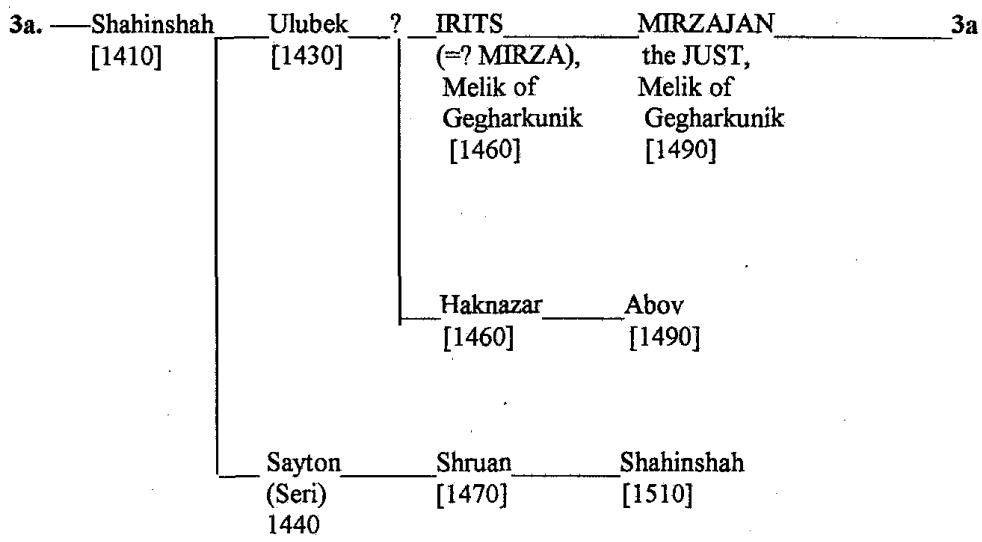
*The exact relation of Mushegh to the line in the Shemakha khanate is unclear.

10. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)
Hasan-Jalalian Meliks of Khachen



11. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

3. Ulubekian-Shahnazarian Meliks of Geghunik / Gegham, and then of Varanda

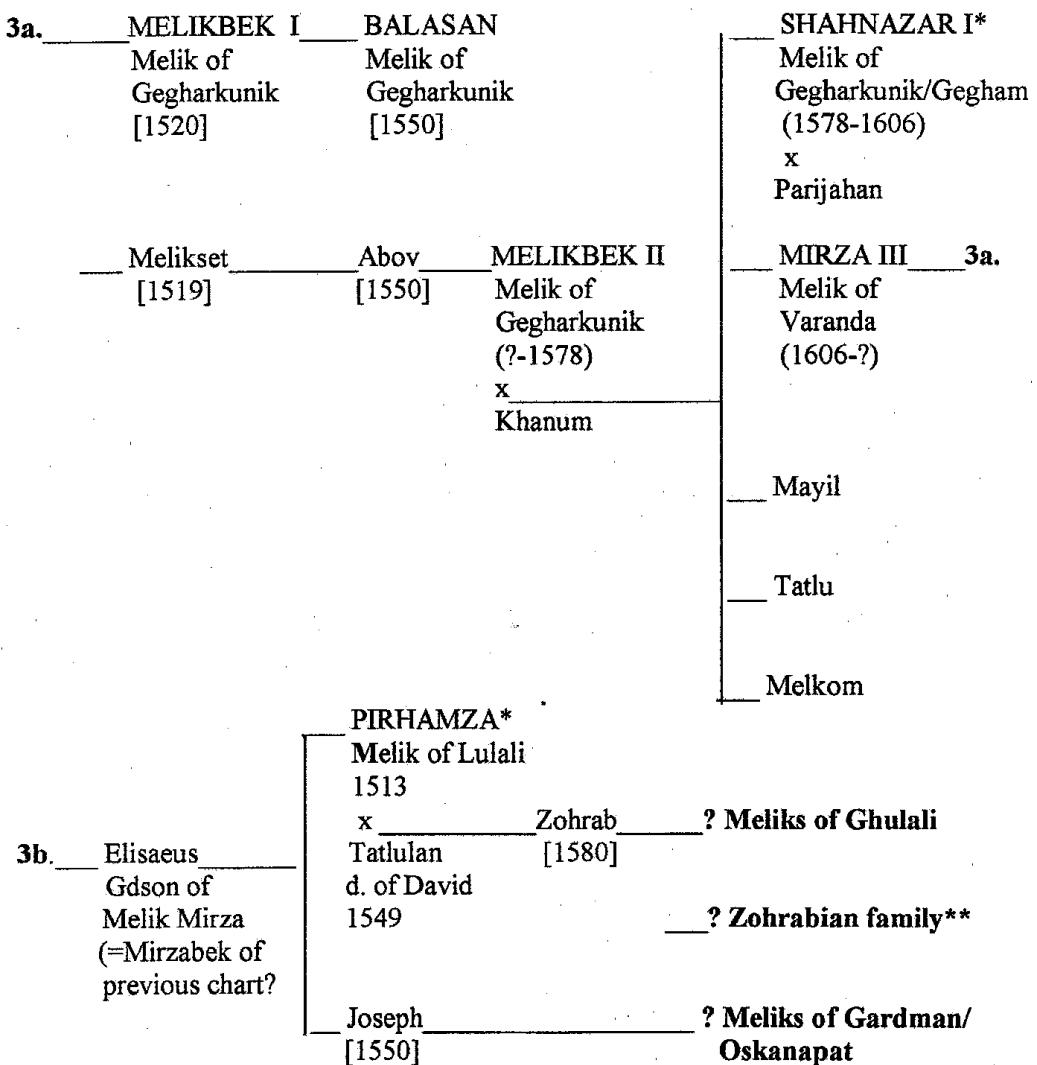


—?— Prince 3b.

The lands of this house were centered at the villages of Mazra and Sot in the principality of Gegharkunik at the southeast corner of Lake Gegham (Lake Gegharkunik, now Sevan).

12. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

3. Ulubekid-Shahnazarian Meliks of Geghakunik / Gegham, and then of Varanda

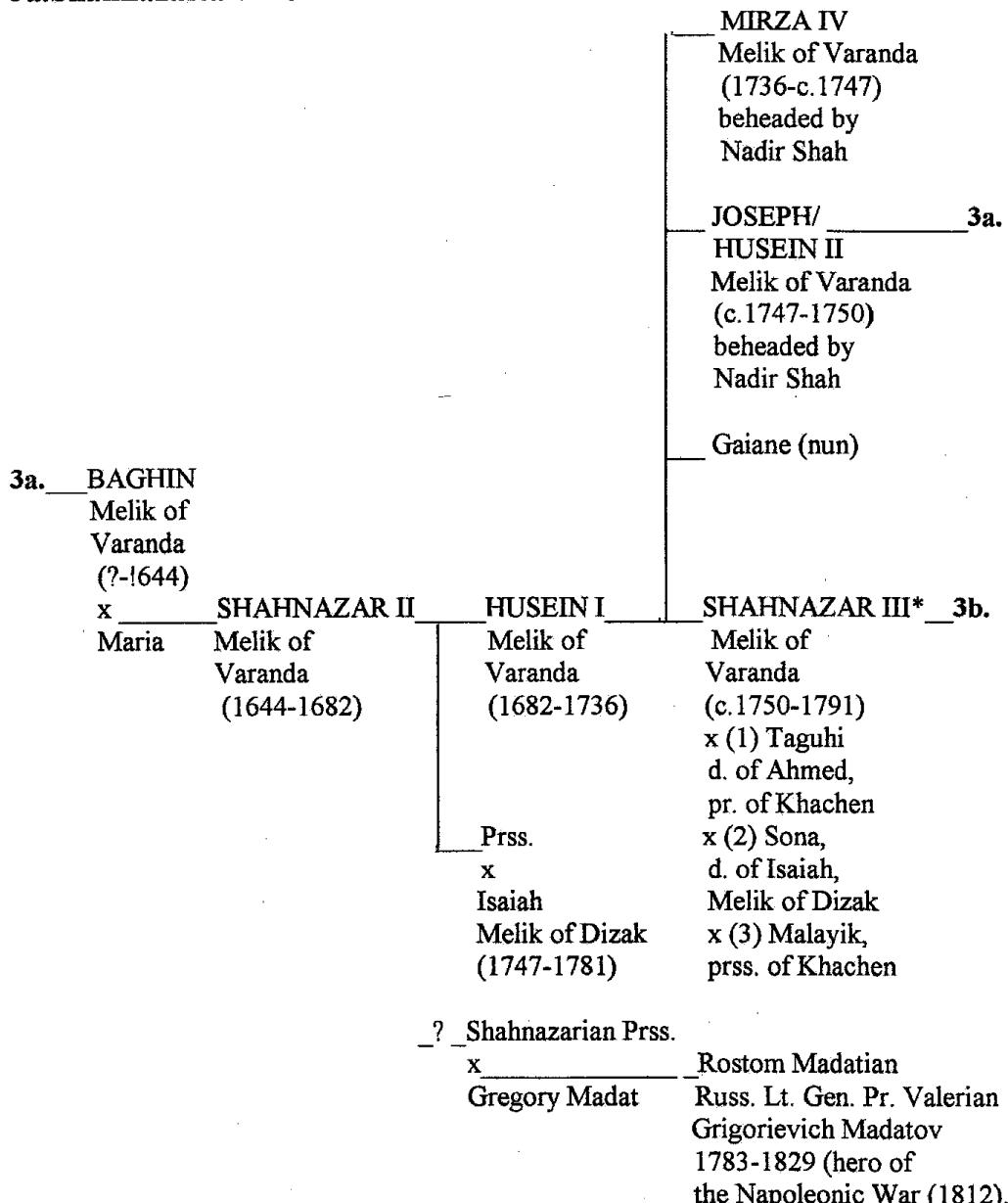


*Shah Abbas II (1587-1629) gave lands to Shahnazar I and to two of his brothers: Mirza received Varanda, and the other (Pirhamza?) received Gardman, centered at the village of Oskanapat. From Shahnazar I were descended the Meliks of Gegham (not shown).

** Claiming melik origin, the Zohrabians may have been descended from this individual.

13. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

3a. Shahnazarian Meliks of Varanda



? Dolukhan-Bek(ov), a noble house in Russia of Shahnazarian origin.

*Melik Shahnazar III, ally of Panah Ali, Khan of Karabagh, was the great villain in the saga of the melik wars in defense of their homeland.

14. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

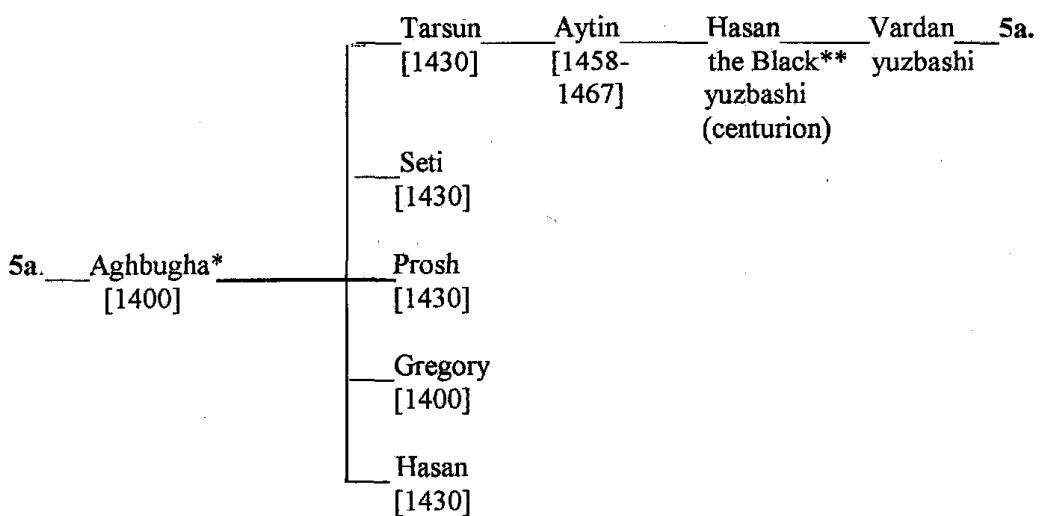
Shahnazarian Meliks of Varanda*

3a.	Isaiah (Sahi), ca. k. by Shahnazar III c.1720	
	Other sons k. by Shahnazar III	
3b.	JAMSHERD	Paul
	Melik of Varanda (1805-?)	[1800]
	Amarnani / Maria x	? KHUDUD last Melik of Varanda (1822-1828)
	Beglar II/Joseph III, Melik of Gulistan (1775-1776)	x Maria, d. of Joseph Pr. Bebutashvili (1807-1837)
	HUSEIN II	
	Melik of Varanda (1791-1805)	
	Hurizad	
	x Ibrahim, khan of Karabagh (son of Panah Ali)	
	JAHANBAKHSH	
	Melik of Varanda (p.1805-a.1822)	
	Humayi	
	Jahangir	
	? Tsatur	David Tsaturian " of the house of Shahnazarian" (Persian ambassador to France, 1813)

*In Varanda, the meliks of this line settled at the village called Avetaranots "Gospel Village" because of a fine manuscript Gospel to be seen there. Its more common, Turkic, name was Chanakhchi. There the meliks erected a small fortress and a fine residence.

15. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

Dopian line, later Abovian-Beglarian Meliks of Gulistan



*The early history of this Dopian branch is obscure and it is said to have originally held lands in Nizh in the later khanate of Shekki from which it was driven c.1600.

**The term "kara" (Arm, *ghara*) meaning "black" can also mean "great."

16. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)
Abovian-Beglarian Meliks of Gulistan

5a.	David	ABOV I*	BEGLAR I	ABOV II
	[1600]	the BLACK Melik of Gulistan (?-1632)	Melik of Gulistan [1632-?]	the LAME, Melik of Gulistan (?-1728)
				x 5a.
				Ghamar-Sultana d. of Mamlat, khan of Karabagh. d. 1753
				Tamraz 5c. =Astuatsatur? regent of Gulistan; hanged by Joseph, Melik of Giulistan and Adam I, Melik of Jraberd in 1728

This branch of the Siunid line of Khachen settled in northern Artsakh c.1600, where Melik Abov restored the fortress of Gulistan or Talish and made this the melikal residence.

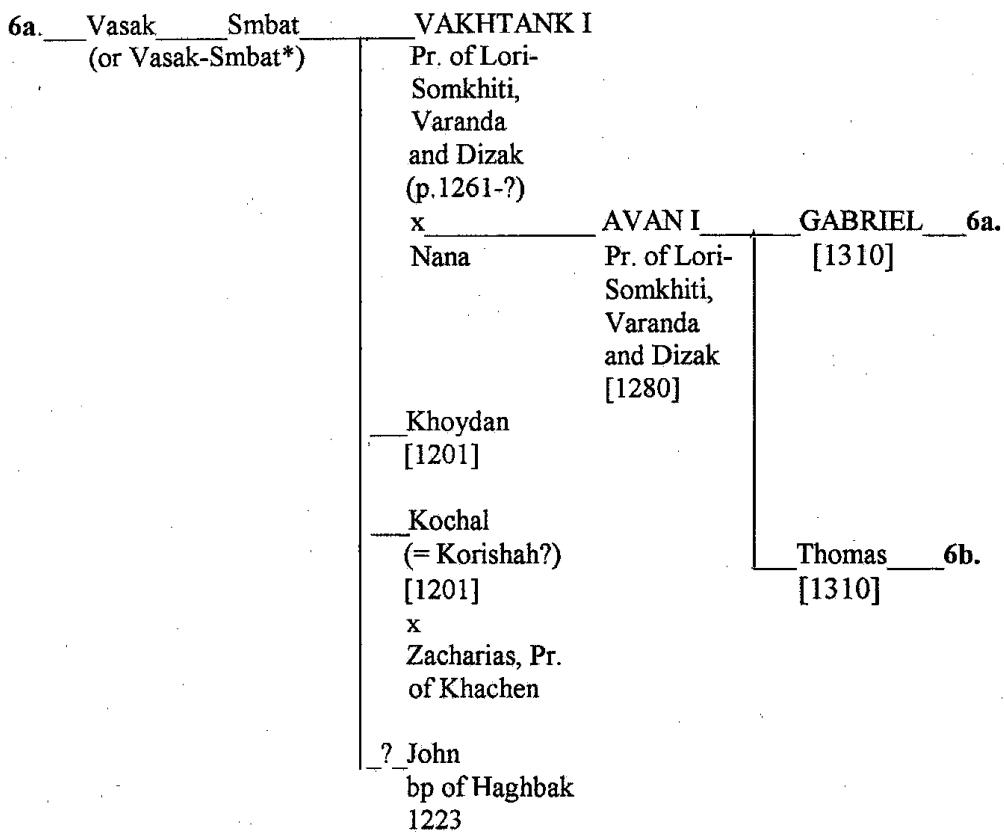
17. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)
Abovian-Beglarian Meliks of Gulistan

5a.	JOSEPH I Melik of Gulistan (1728-1775) x Heriknaz	BEGLAR II / JOSEPH II Melik of Gulistan (1775-1776) k. by his wife x Amarnani/Maria d. of Shahnazar III Melik of Varanda	PRIDON Melik of Gulistan (1808-p.1808) Melikal Amb. to Tsar Paul 1799; k. by Sham x a Russian noble woman	JOSEPH III last Melik of Gulistan p.1808-1826)
	Asa centurion of Gulistan		Baghir x Euphrosyne, d. of John Bebutashvili	John
			Sham fratricide	Shamir issue d. 1828 Russ. min. at Teheran
			Rostom beheaded 1804	David issue b1795- d.1884
	ABOV III The LAME Melik of Gulistan b.c.1750-d.1808 (1776-1808) x d. of Husein III Melik of Vartanda		MINAS Melik of Gulistan (p.1808)	Talesh
	Husein d.1775		Sayi	Teymuraz
				Beglar

? — Sarukhan — Sarukhan-Bek(ov), a noble house in Russia of Beglarian origin.
 Centurion of
 Gulistan (1699-1723)

18. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

Avanian Meliks of Dizask



*In one source Vasak and Smbat are listed as the same person. In any case the Siunian origin of the family is certain but not the exact line to which it belongs.

19. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)**Avanian Meliks of Lori-Somkhiti and of Varanda and Dizak**

6a. ABAS ISHKHAN BARKHUTAR JALAL KHUMAR 6a.
(-1346-) [1380] (?-c.1411) (p.1438-?) KAMAR /
QORKHMAZ.

Melik and
Duke of
Somkhiti
(1478-?)

6b. Prince Prince Prince Prince Prince Nakhijan 6b.
[1350] [1380] [1410] [1440] [1470]

20. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

Avanian Meliks of Lori-Somkhiti and of Varanda and Dizak

6a.	KAIKHOSRO	EGAN I	ELIZBAR	DURMISHKHAN*	6a.
	Duke and Melik of Somkhiti [1500]	Duke and Melik of Somkhiti [1530]	Duke and Melik of Somkhiti [1560]	Duke and Melik of Somkhiti (a. 1564-c. 1600)	

VELIJAN
Pr. of Varanda
and Dizak
[1500]

6b.	PAP	AGHAM**	PASHIK	SUJUM	6b.
	Pr. of Varanda and Dizak [1530]	(-1566-)	(p. 1566-?)	[1580]	

--?--Prince ? Aghamaliants**
Meliks of Erevan

*The Duke-Meliks of Somkhiti continue from Durmishkhan as well as the noble house of Loris-Melikishvili (Russ. Loris-Melikov).

**The house of Aghamaliants, meliks of Erevan, appears in the seventeenth century. N. Adontz cites it as being descended from one of the melik houses of Karabagh and it may have been descended from Agham.

21. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

Avanian Meliks of Dizak

?	BAKHTAM I*	Luke	EGAN I**
	titular melik of Dizak [1640]	vardapet at Sanahin [1670] d.1716	(1716-1744) Recog. by Russia as khan of Saghnak in 1734
6b.	AVAN II*** Melik of Dizak (c.1600-1606) d. in Russia 1735	Sujum k.1648	x Gohar-Khanum b. c. 1698-d.p.1763 Tarkhan centurion of Dizak, amb. of the meliks to Peter the Great 1729
		David k.1648	Anna x Husein I Melik of Varanda (1682-1736)

* The parentage of Melik Bakhtam is uncertain but he was of the house of Somkhiti.

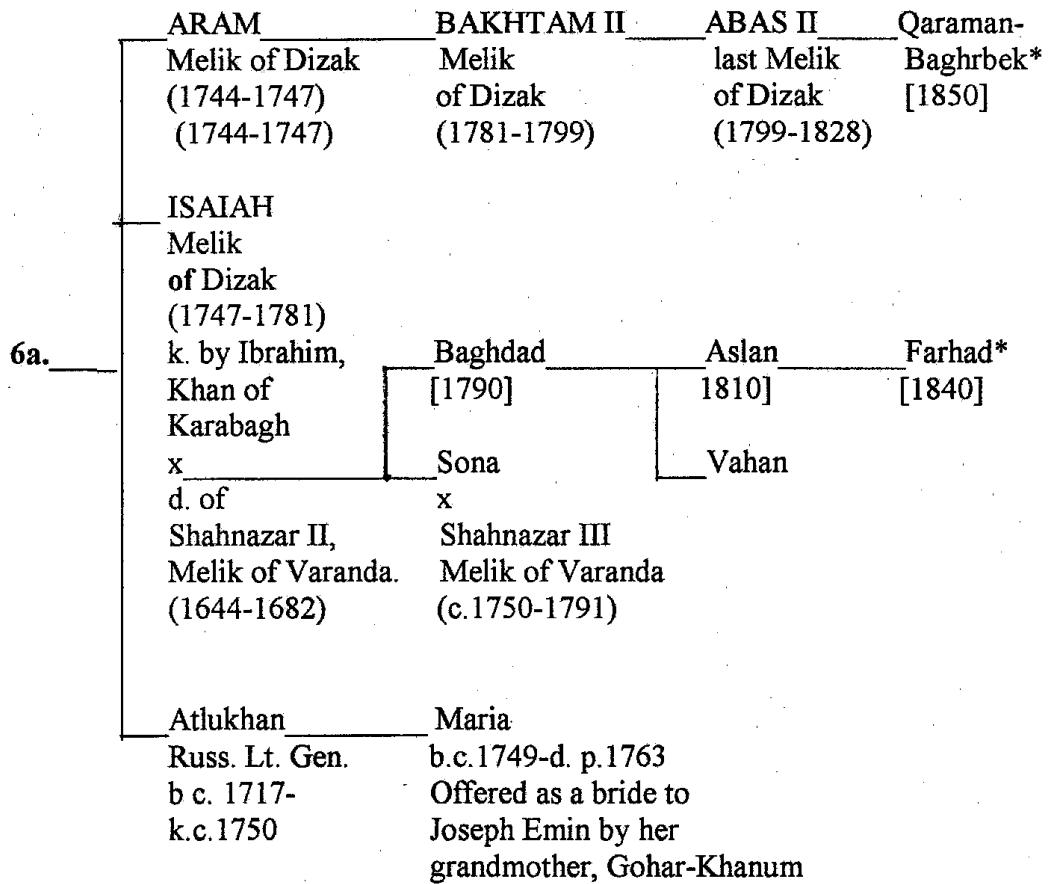
** The meliks Egan and Avan II are not the same person (as thought by Raffi, Leo, and Toumanoff) but two distinct persons as demonstrated in the text translated in this volume.

** That Avan II was a member of the house of Somkhiti is certain but his exact attachment to the line is not clear. Driven from Somkhiti by his relative, Elizbar (see Chart 20), he moved to Varanda-Dizak, where, as explained early in the text of Catholicos Sergius translated here, he organized resistance to Muslim rule. Raffi (1886), Leo (III, 1973), and, following them, Toumanoff (1978, 1990), have confused his life and times with those of Melik Egan (Chart 21, above). Similarly, the connection between Avan II and the line of Somkhiti is unclear.

Having settled in Dizak, the meliks chose the village of Togh as their seat and the nearby monastery of Ktish as their sepulchral abbey.

22 THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

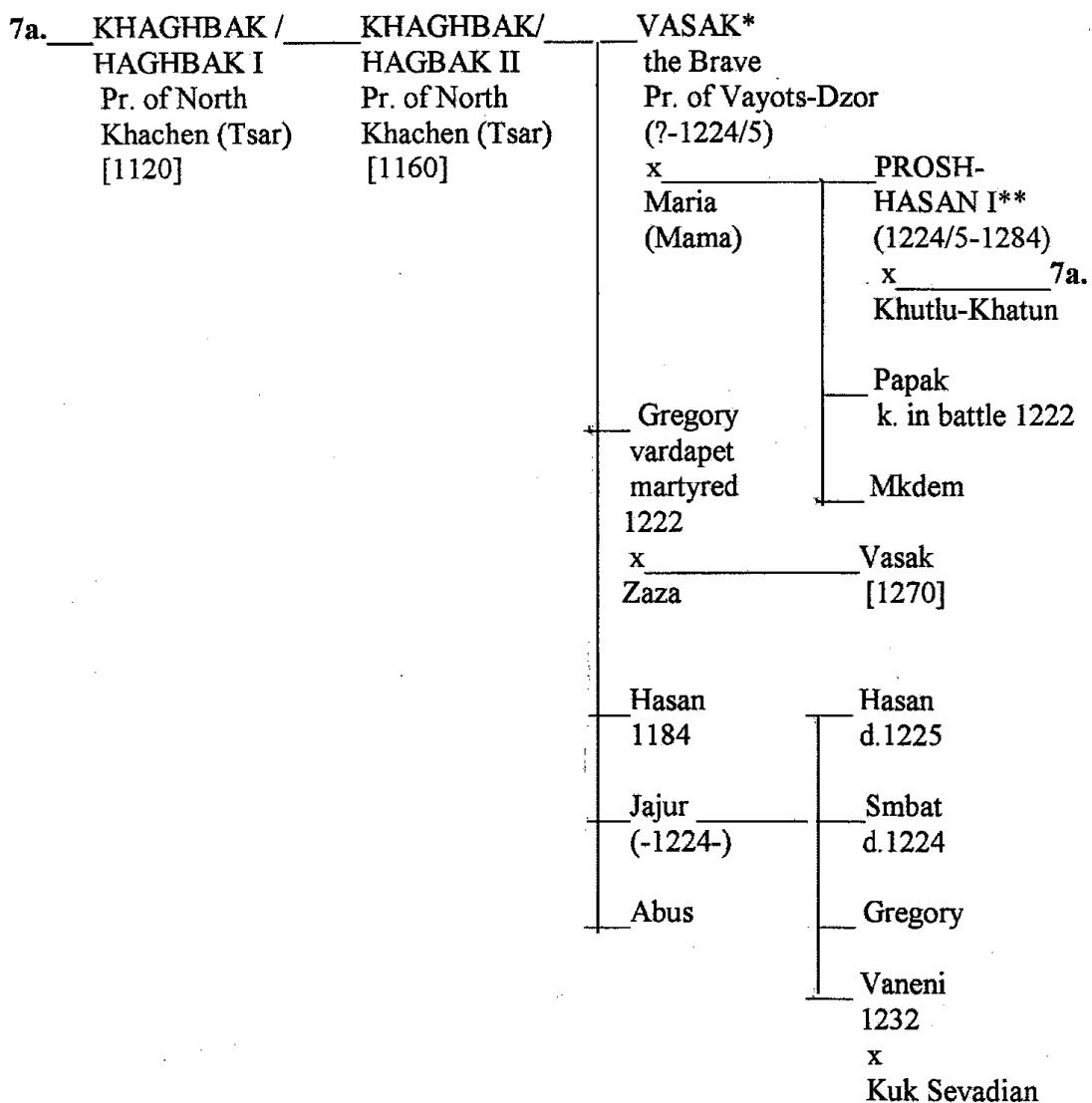
Avanian Meliks Dizak



* From either Qaraman-Baghrbek or his third cousin Farhad is descended the noble house of Avan-Yuzbashev, Khan-Sagnakhski, and also the Melik-Eganians, the Muslim branch of the Avanian line (which still inhabits the ancestral home in the village of Togh).

23. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

Princes of Upper Khachen, then of Vayots-Dzor, then of Kashatagh,
then the Israeliian Meliks of Jraberd

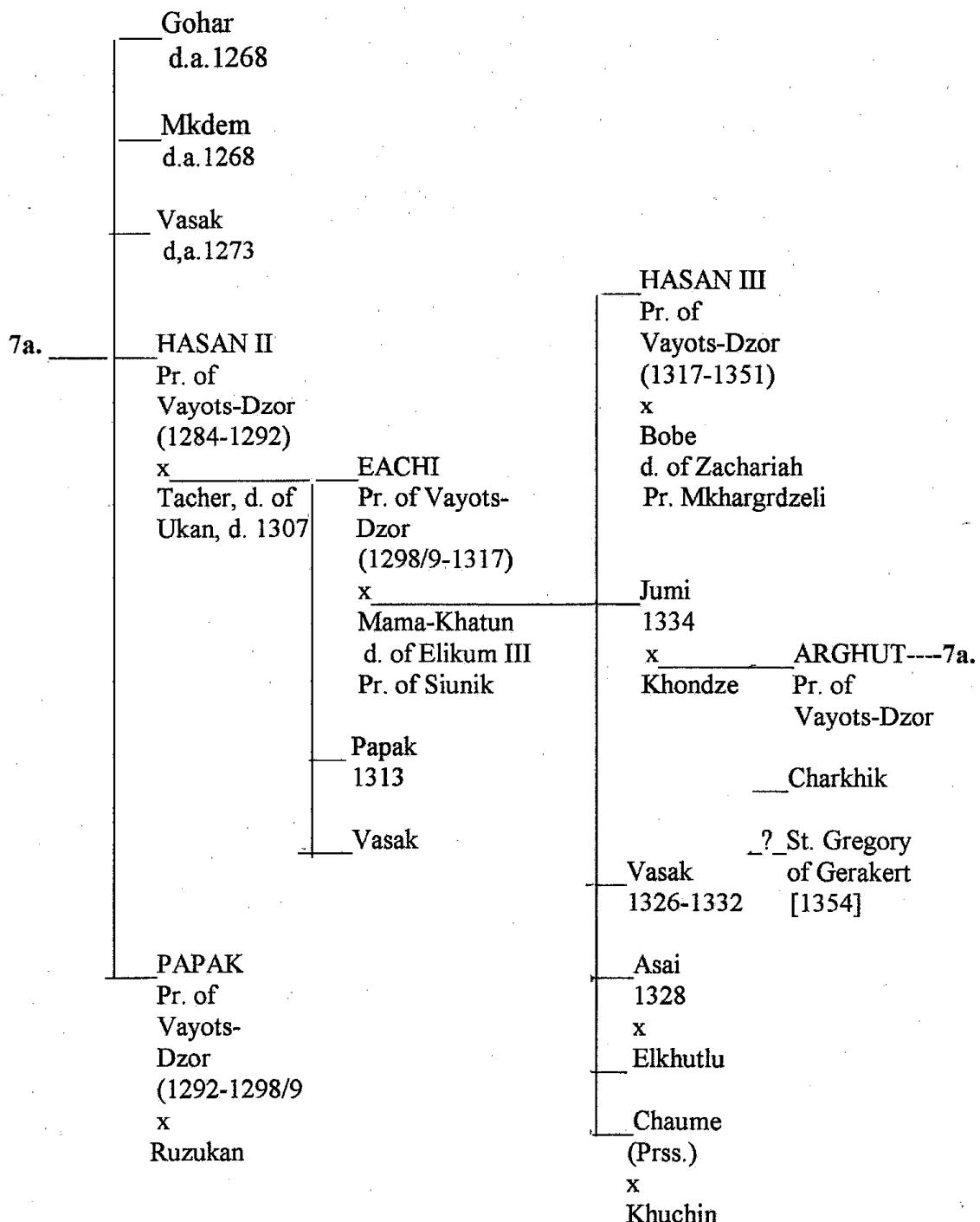


*Almost certainly a descendant of a branch of the Siunian house of Khachen, Vasak the Brave somehow acquired Vayots-Dzor, where the family flourished until the late fifteenth century.

** Prince Prosh was still remembered in the meliks' letter to the Pope in 1699, 400 years after his death.

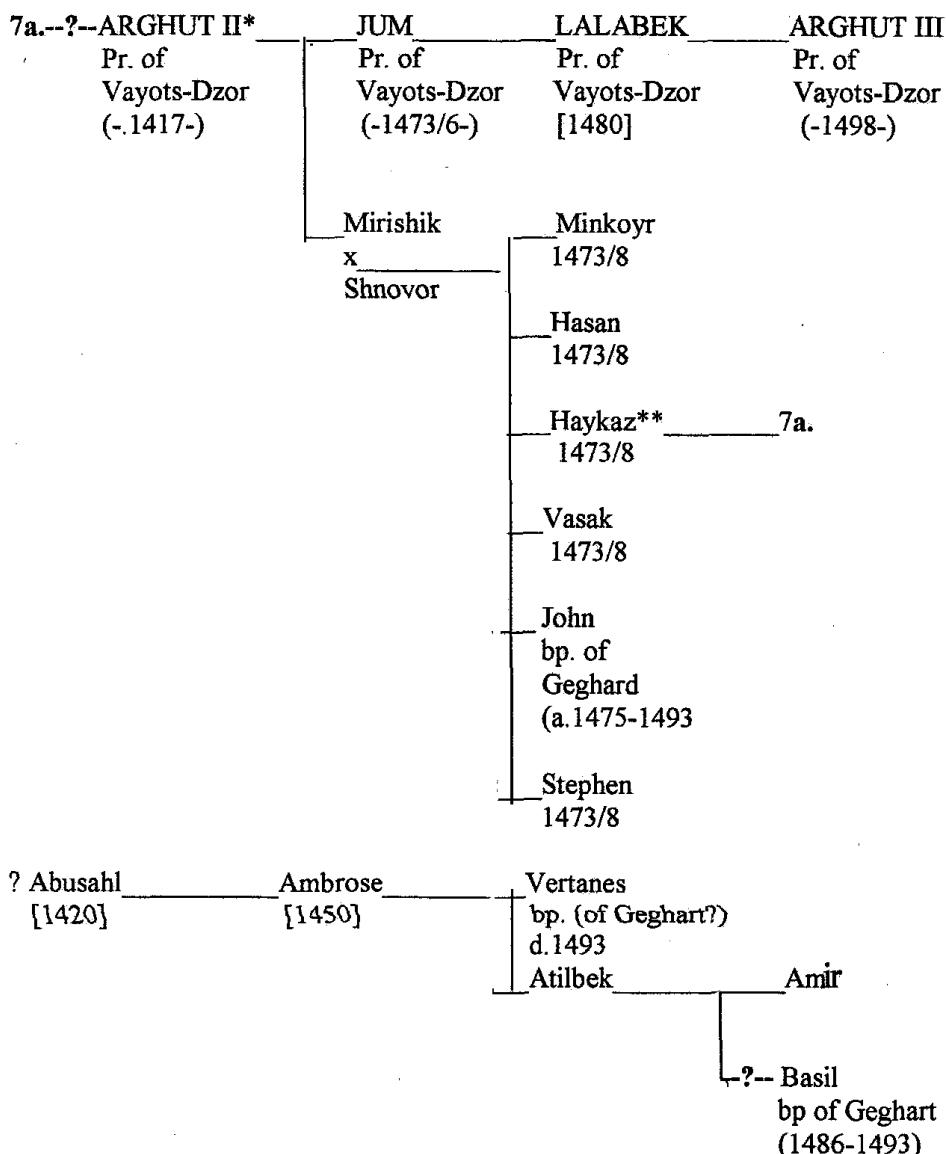
24. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

Princes of Vayots-Dzor



25. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

Princes of Vayots-Dzor



* The exact relationship of Arghut II to Arghut I of Chart 24 is uncertain.

**Haykaz was apparently the first Melik of Kashatagh and founder of the Haykazian line.

26. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

Meliks of Kashatagh-Zangezur, then of Jraberd

7a.----MARTIROS*

Melik of Zangezur,
k. by the Muslims
[1500]

?

AGHAJAN*
Melik of Zangezur
k. by the Muslims
[1530]

?

GAREGIN*

Melik of Zangezur
k. by the Muslims
[1550]

? Prince ? Baghir 7b.
(=Vardan?) Haykazian
[1700] [1730]

7a. HAYKAZ HAYK ISRAEL
Melik of Melik of Melik of
Zangesur Zangezur Zangezur
(?-1586) (1586-?) (-1678-)
Migrated to Persia

ISAIAH** AGHAGHULI
Israeliian SULTAN
Melik of Melik of
Jraberd Jraberd
(1687-c.1725) (c.1725-1755)

x 7a.
d. of Mulki,
Melik of Khachen,
k. 1775

Israel Ori***

Amb. of the meliks
to the Rhineland-Palatinate,
to the Vatican, and to
Peter the Great;
Russ. Amb. to Persia***

*The exact relationship between the three meliks between Martiros and Haykaz is not clear.

** Isaiah settled at Jraberd, a fortress in the district of that name between Gulistan and khachen.

***Israel Ori married a German woman; she and their two sons remained in Germany.
"Ori" is a sobriquet, rarely encountered, for a nobleman (cf. *oriort* = "unmarried lady" or "princess."

27. THE HOUSE OF SIUNI (cont.)

Meliks of Kashatagh-Zangezur (Goris) and Meliks of Jraberd

7b ____ ? JOHN ____ ? BARKHUDAR

Melik of Melik of Goris
 Zangezur (in Zangezur)
 (? -1771) (1771-?)

x ____ ? RUSTAM ____ HUSEIN ____ ? KASI ____ PARMAZ *
 Tatsum Melik Melik Melik last? Melik
 of Goris of Goris of Goris of Goris
 c.1836)

7a. ____ ADAM I

Melik of Jraberd
 (1761- 1780/2)

x
 Ghamar-
 Sultana

MEJLUM
 Melik
 of Jraberd
 (1782-1796)

ADAM II

Melik of Jraberd
(de jure at Gandzak/Ganja)
 b.c.1785

x
 Sharnaz
 Thamar
 (Prss.)
 [1815]

? ALLAVERDI I
 Melik of
 Jraberd
 (1796-)

RUSTAM

Melik of Jraberd
 [1800]
 x
 (1) Maria
 (2) Vard Khatun

Bala

(Prince)
 [1825]

Mirza ROVSHAN ALLAVERDI II**
 (p.1800) last Melik of
 Jraberd
 (p.1800-a.1812)

* Ancestor of the family of Melik-Barkhudarian

** Ancestor of the family of Melik-Israelian.

APPENDIX VII: EPILOGUE

The last years of Archbishop Sergius Hasan-Jalaliants from Artak Maghalyan's book *Artsakh melikutiunnerè ev melikakan tner XII-XIX dd. [The Melikdoms of Artsakh and the Melik Houses in the 17th-19th Centuries]*. (Erevan, 1911).

(Eng. trans. K. V. Ketendjian)

"In 1787, after the murder of Catholicos John [of Aghuank], Ibrahim-khan [of Karabagh], through the intercession of his wife Biki, released from prison John's brother Sergius. Sargis, however, entered into some dispute with Ibrahim regarding a mosque that the latter wanted to build over a Christian grave and, in 1791, Sergius fled from Gandzasar to Gandzak to stay with [the local ruler] Javad-khan. There, in Gandzak, with the support of Javad and Melik Mejnun [of Jraberd], he was anointed catholicos of Gandzasar on December 17, 1794.

Sergius remained in Gandzak till 1798. When the famine destroyed the crops in Artsakh, he moved with the rest of the population to Georgia. Through the request of king George [XII], Catholicos Luke of Etchmiatsin appointed him archbishop of Haghpat.¹

When the Russians entered Artsakh, Sergius returned to Gandzasar and resumed the use of the title "catholicos." On November 6, 1812, Mehti-Ghuli-khan (*sic*) of Shushi by order officially recognized him as the catholicos [of Aghuank]. This was a political decision to weaken the influence of [the Catholicosate of] Echmiatsin, according to the author. And indeed, when [Catholicos] Nerves of Ashtarak was appointed as the leader of the Armenian subjects in Russia, his first objective was to eliminate the Gandzasar catholicosate. In 1815 Sergius was [thus] declared to be merely an archbishop and [was appointed] metropolitan of Gandzasar and Karabagh.

In July of 1826 the Persian troops under the leadership of Crown Prince Abbas-Mirza entered Shushi. The Russian commander, Reut, and the Armenians of Shushi put up a fight. To reduce the hostility of Abbas-Mirza, a delegation consisting of Metropolitan Sergius Hasan-Jalalian, Melik Vani Atabekian of Jraberd and Melik Joseph Beglarian of Gulistan visited his camp.² His anger was reduced, however, when, during the battles of Shamkhor and Gandzak, the army of Abbas-Mirza was thrown [back] beyond the Arax River, and Governor Ermolov ordered the arrest of the Armenian delegation

members on an accusation of treason to the Russian crown. The meliks were dispatched to Baku, and Sergius was sent to Tiflis, [where] Nerves of Ashtarak personally interrogated Sergius. Ashtarak sent a letter to Ermolov on December 2, 1826 wherein he stated that Sergius was worthy of punishment and that he left the punishment up to Ermolov.³

The answer was written on December 12, 1826 by General Mada-tov and is now kept in the Mantenadaran.[Manuscript Repository in Erevan]. There he suggested that Ermolov gave orders to keep Sergius under house arrest and to monitor all his actions, but then to pay him all respects due to his high rank.

Many notables tried to intervene, such as Alamdarian or archbishop Simon Bznuniants on account of the poor health of Sergius, writing letters to [Nerves of] Ashtarak. In the end a thorough examination of their cases revealed that the meliks and Sergius, himself, were innocent of all charges and instead of being exiled to Siberia, they returned to their homeland of Artsakh.⁴

From a letter of Kh. Lazarian to Nerves of Ashtarak, which is kept in Matenadaran, it is evident that all of the charges were fabricated and that Ermolov had a tendency to show friendship to the Armenians on one hand and then to betray them on the other. Sergius, by the account of Archbishop Bznuniants, returned to Artsakh on July 4, 1827. The governor himself ordered this return by making [Sergius] a gift of a bishop's robe and mitre. This was the only price [recompense he received] for the unjust repression and persecution by Bznuniants. This entire ordeal did not pass without consequence.⁵

As soon as Sergius reached Gandzasar, he became bedridden and later died on December 19, 1828. This is from the account of [Sergius' nephew] Bishop Balthasar Hasan-Jalalian to Catholicos Ephraim of Echmiatsin. The final page of the Gandzasar catholicosate had been turned.”⁶

It must be noted that Artak Maghalyan, the author of this book, mentions on page 127 a few notable Hasan-Jalalians who were historians and who wrote books. Among them is Isaiah Hasan-Jalalian (d. 1728), Balthasar Hasan-Jalalean, who in 1849 wrote *The House and the Generations of Hasan-Jalalians*, published by Raffi, and Sergius Jalalians, who apparently also wrote a journal called *Journey to Greater Armenia*. (Our Sergius and Metropolitan Balthasar?).

NOTES

1. A. Maghalyan, p. 141.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

GLOSSARY

agha, aqa — lord, clan head, nobleman, commander

amir, emir—commander, chief, lord, petty prince

beglerbegi, beylerbey—Persian provincial governor

beg, bek, bey—high-ranking official, a term of respect

begum—princess or lady of high rank

caliph—successor to Muhammad as civil ruler

catholicos—at Echmiatsin, the supreme head of Armenian church;
at Gandzasar the head of the Aghuan Church

chai—small river

chelebi—Turkish gentleman (formerly a prince)

divan—chancery, ruler's court

Echmiatsin Monastery — seat of the catholicos-patriarch of Armenia

emir—see amir.

Erets-Mankunk monastary—seat of the occasional anti-catholicos
of the Aghuan Church

farsakh—Persian measure of distance = *ca.* 3 1/2 miles

Gandzasar Monastery—usual seat of the catholicos of Aghuank

haji—Muslim who has made the pilgrimage (*haj*) to Mecca.

hazarapet—Armenian commander of 1000 troops

il, ilat—tribe(s)

khalat—robe of honor

khamsa—the five melikdoms of Karabagh

khan—Persian provincial governor

khanate—Persian province governed by a khan

khanum—lady

kishlak, qeshlaq—winter encampment for Muslim nomads

mahal—district

mahalle—a quarter in a city

malek—governor of a mahal appointed by a khan

manat—a Persian coin = a Russian (silver) ruble

melik—autonomous or semi-autonomous Armenian prince under
Persian rule

minbashi—Persian head of 100 men; tribal leader

mirza—before a name a senior official or secretary; after a name, a
prince

naib—governor of a *mahal* appointed by a khan

nazer—overseer

Ori—nobleman

qizilbash, qezelbash—supporter of the Safavid dynasty

raiyat, raaya—peasant(s)

sardar—Persian general, governor of a border province

seghnagh, signakh—fortification or stronghold; a fortified region
(e.g. Karabagh)

soltan—governor of a *mahal* appointed by a khan

su—stream

toman—Persian currency. In 1800 = 1.25 Russian ruble; 1 Brit.
pound

uch-kilisa—“Three-churches,” Turkish name for Echmiatsin

vali—viceroy; Persian title for the king of Georgia

verst—Russian measure of distance = 3500 feet, 2/3 of a mile (1.06
kms.)

vakil—regent

vardapet—a monk with a higher education, doctor of theology

vilayet—Ottoman Turkish province

waqf—endowment for a religious purpose

yaila, yeilaq—summer encampment for Muslim nomads

yuzbashi—commander of 100 troops; younger male relative of a
melik

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Note: In the dating of publications listed below the following format has been utilized: (2010) = year of publication; (1950/2010) = published in 1950 and reprinted in 2010; (1918; 1957) = date of publication and date of translation; (1875-1876) = the book is multi-volume and was published during the period 1875-1876; (1990, 2010) = vol. I published in 1950; volume II in 2010.

-ian = Usual Western termination of an Armenian surname using the Latin script.

-ean = standard termination of Armenian surnames using the actual Armenian spelling.

-yan = Soviet termination of Armenian surnames (in Russian and Armenian).

Surnames of Armenian authors writing in Western languages, follow the usage of the authors.

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About the Translator

A native of Yerevan, Armenia, Ka'ren V. Ketendjian received his first master's degree in 1984 from the V. I. Brusov Foreign Language Institute in Armenia, where he studied the English and Russian languages and the Russian literature. From 1984 to 1987, he taught English and Russian at the Sevan Technical College and Dudmashen Regional High School.

In 1987 Mr. Ketendjian immigrated to the United States, where in 1993 he received his second master's degree from the California State University in Fresno, majoring in Linguistics and E.S.L. From 1993 to 1997, he instructed Russian at the Foreign Languages Department of the California State University in Fresno.

Also in 1992 Mr. Ketendjian received his juris doctor degree in law from the San Joaquin College of Law in Fresno, California. He has been a duly licensed attorney for over 20 years and has his own private practice in Fresno, where he currently resides with his wife and son. He is active in the Fresno Armenian community affairs. Mr. Ketendjian's roots are from Gandzak and Cilicia, which explains his interest in the book of Archbishop Sargis Hasan-Jalaliants. This is Mr. Ketendjian's first major attempt at translating into English a Classical Armenian text.

About the Editor

Born in New York City, Robert H. Hewsen received his doctorate from Georgetown University where he studied Armenian history under the late pioneer Armenianist Cyril Toumanoff. From 1967 to 1999, he taught Russian and Byzantine History at Rowan University, Glassboro, New Jersey, where he is now Professor Emeritus. In addition, he has taught Armenian history at the Universities of Michigan (1979), Pennsylvania (1980-1983), Tübingen, Germany (1984, 1987), Chicago (1991, 1998, 2008), Columbia (1993, 1999), St. Nersess Seminary (2001), California State University, Fresno (2001), UCLA (2002), and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (2004).

Besides numerous armenological articles and book reviews, Dr. Hewsen has published an English translation of the *Geography*

of Ananias of Shirak, and supervised the reprinting of the original Armenian texts of both the long and the short versions of the same work. He has also contributed eight large-scale maps of Caucasia to the *Tübingen Atlas of the Middle East*, and has published Press a 341-page, 278-map historical atlas of Armenia (Univ. of Chicago, 2001). Professor Hewsen has visited Armenia eight times since 1961, and Highland Karabagh twice since 2001. At the present time, Dr. Hewsen is working on a history of the conversion of Armenia to Christianity.